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MARK D. FULLERTON

THE ARCHAISTIC STYLE IN ROMAN STATUARY

TUTA SUB AEGIDE PALLAS · EJB ·

THE ARCHAISTIC STYLE IN ROMAN STATUARY

BY

MARK D. FULLERTON

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To Monica

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PREFACE

My interest in the phenomenon of archaism in Greek and Roman art originated with my doctoral dissertation, *Archaistic Draped Statuary in the Round of the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods* (Bryn Mawr College, 1982). Since then I have had cause to re-evaluate many of the preconceptions and conclusions to be found in that work. Thus this book differs significantly from the dissertation, not only in its narrower focus and in some chronological details, but also in its greater emphasis on the problem of determining what motivations might lie behind the creation of archaizing images.

I am fortunate to have benefitted from the guidance of two scholars whose expertise in this subject is well-known. Prof. Brunilde Ridgway, my dissertation adviser, encouraged my pursual of this challenging topic and at each stage helped me avoid its many pitfalls. Her support goes well beyond the date of my degree, since she has continued to provide invaluable suggestions for my subsequent work on archaism and other topics. Prof. Evelyn Harrison was resident at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens in 1980-1981 when I, as an Associate Member, was beginning research on my dissertation. This was a stroke of great good fortune for me, as she was of particular help during those tentative stages of work on its earliest chapters. Through both their advice and their exemplary publications these two scholars have made my work easier. Many others have been helpful to me in countless ways which range from providing information on specific statues to discussing general theories on retrospection in ancient art. I should especially like to mention Maria Bruskari, Amanda Claridge, Jerome Pollitt, Andrew Stewart, Geoffrey Waywell, Paul Zanker and especially Russell Scott, who has profoundly influenced my understanding of the ancient Roman world. My debt of gratitude to all mentioned is great, but all errors of fact or interpretation are, needless to say, my own.

For financial support of my research, I am indebted to the Fulbright Program for their support in Greece in 1979-1981, to the Ella Riegel and Bryn Rubell funds at Bryn Mawr College for travelling fellowships in 1981 and 1982, and to the College of the Arts and the Office of Research and Graduate Study at the Ohio State University for travel funds in 1984 and 1987 and for helping to defray the costs of publication. I would like also to thank the many institutions who assisted my research. The libraries of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, the American Academy at Rome, the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, Bryn Mawr College, and the Ohio State University provided the foundation of my research. Many museums were helpful in providing

photographs and allowing me to reproduce them here; these are mentioned in the list of illustrations and credits. I would especially like to thank those museums which allowed me access to archives and/or sculptures not otherwise on display: the National Archaeological Museum, the Akropolis Museum, and the Agora Museum in Athens, the Archaeological Museum in Rhodes, the Archaeological Museum in Antalya, the Archaeological Museums in Naples and Florence, the Glyptothek in Munich, the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, the Louvre and the Rodin Museum in Paris and the British Museum in London.

Finally I should like to thank my wife, Monica Barran Fullerton, who has helped see this project from its genesis during my dissertation research to its final fruition here. She has assisted in every conceivable way—in my study of statues in museums, through her keen criticism of this and earlier studies in their various drafts, and by providing emotional support and stability without which this book could not have been completed.

The recent work by Mary-Anne Zagdoun, *La sculpture archaïsante dans l'art hellénistique et dans l'art romain du haut-empire: Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome vol. 269* (1989) appeared while the present work was in press. As is clear from the title, Dr. Zagdoun's study sets for itself far broader limits than does mine. Since it deals with all types of manifestations of archaism – statuary, reliefs, and coins, its organization and focus are quite different. It mainly consists of six individual studies, four of which are based on relief types: the twelve gods, the citharode type, divine triads (Nymphs and Seasons), and decorative "grotesques." The fifth study deals with representations of Athena; while statuary is treated, her treatment is more concerned with the essentially two-dimensional representational tradition. Only the sixth study, on archaistic kore/Spes figures (a classification used far more inclusively by her than in my chapter 5), focuses on statuary. I refer the reader to Dr. Zagdoun's book for a more detailed discussion of these important relief types and other comparanda only briefly treated in the present study on sculpture in the round.

Delaware, OH
January 1989

CHAPTER ONE

ARCHAISTIC STATUARY AND THE ARCHAISTIC STYLE

One of the most striking trends in recent scholarship on ancient Greek and Roman art is an increased interest in stylistic retrospection. That severizing, classicizing, and archaizing sculptures were created in Hellenistic and Roman times has long been recognized, but more critical definitions of copying have recently swelled the ranks of such imitations and Roman creations.[1] However, most studies on archaism have been primarily concerned with the questions of its definition and earliest development. Such arguments must rely heavily on the more easily datable media of vase-painting and relief sculpture.[2] Since Bulle's pioneering monograph of 1918 there has appeared no work dedicated specifically to the numerous archaistic statues in the round. The present volume is intended to help fill this void.

The limitation of this study to Roman sculptures is not so restrictive as it might at first seem, since the term Roman is used in its broadest sense to indicate that time period when Roman tastes and commissions were an important factor in the Mediterranean world.[3] The sculptures considered here were created during the half millennium between the second century B.C. and the third century A.C.[4] Regardless of the chronology of the archaistic style in relief sculpture and vase-painting, the number of archaistic statues which can be dated before this time is extremely small. These are presented briefly in the introductory remarks on the development of the style.[5]

An explanation of just what is meant here by ''archaistic'' is best presented against the background of the most important previous treatments. It is unnecessary here to give a detailed history of the scholarship on the

---

[1] For a summary of recent developments: Ridgway 1986, 11. The whole question of copy vs. imitation is an old one, but fresh approaches together with extensive bibliography is to be found in Ridgway 1984, esp. pp. 6, 31-36, 81-86.

[2] These works are considered in some detail below.

[3] Cf. Ridgway 1984, 6 n.6.

[4] Not all sculptures from the late Hellenistic period are included, since these are the subject of a separate study: Fullerton 1987. In addition, one sculpture which may date from the third century B.C. is included because of its iconographic importance—the Dionysos (priest?) at Eleusis (6IIB1). One statue type—the Munich-Chigi Athena—is included in both the earlier study and here (3IIIA); although its invention is closely linked with neo-Attic work of the second century B.C., most or all of the replicas and variations are Roman.

[5] Infra pp.6-11. The majority of them are also considered in detail in Fullerton 1987.

subject, since such summaries have appeared regularly and recently.[6] However, some consideration of the different approaches can demonstrate how thoroughly the problems of origin, definition, and development are intertwined.

Three schools of thought exist regarding the question of origin. The earliest sees the archaistic style as continuing without interruption from Archaic into Classical times.[7] The scholars who espouse this theory differ primarily in the particular monuments they use to fill the apparent gap between 480 B.C. and later Classical times. Hauser, for example, relies on literary descriptions of the style of Kalamis. Bulle argues that several Roman archaistic statues are copies of Early Classical originals. Willers traces the development through a small group of Early Classical herms. Ridgway views archaism as a stylistic phenomenon which arises in mannered late Archaic works and continues on such post-Archaic monuments as the Athena-pig sacrifice relief from the Athenian Akropolis.[8]

The second scheme of development would see the archaistic style as a deliberate reference back over an intervening period of time. Furtwängler's proposal that the style was invented by Kallimachos in the High Classical era was based on the Kallimachos relief in Rome and literary descriptions of that master's style. In proposing a fourth century date for the style's invention, Schmidt cited the appearance at that time of highly decorative archaistic Athenas on Panathenaic amphorae. According to his scheme, the earliest work of archaistic sculpture is the four-gods base on the Akropolis.[9] In a sense Schmidt created the gap between Archaic and archaistic through the redefinition of several monuments as sub-Archaic or traditional, that is, as the retention of Archaic forms rather than the creation of a new archaistic style. Schmidt's scheme was accepted as canonical by many scholars, including Fuchs in his early publications.[10] However, Fuchs now follows Harrison in favoring a late fifth century date for the first archaistic works, based on more recent discoveries.[11]

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[6] E.g. Willers 1975, 21-32. Ridgway 1977, 303-322. Pollitt 1986, 175-184.

[7] Hauser 1889, 158-172. Collignon 1897, 643-658. Folman 1935, 9-19. Bulle 1918, 3-5. Herdejürgen 1968, 37-89. Willers 1975, *passim* esp. 33-47. Ridgway 1977, 306, 308-310, 319.

[8] Akropolis Museum 581. This relief is similarly assessed by Willers 1975, 55. The piece was already seen as archaistic by Pfuhl, *AthMitt* 48 (1923) 132-136. As will be seen below, other dates have been suggested.

[9] For the Kallimachos relief, cf. infra p.10 n.51. Four-gods base: Akropolis Museum 610. Most recently: Willers 1975, 26-29, pls.8-9. Cf. also the review by E. Harrison, *Gnomon* 53 (1981) 496-498.

[10] Fuchs 1959, 27-33, 44-59.

[11] Fuchs cites the very badly preserved and incompletely published round monument found at Brauron. Harrison cites red-figure fragments from the Agora, datable to ca.410 B.C., which bear archaistic representations of Athena and Hermes. She also accepts as

Becatti's theory concerning the origin of the archaistic style shares with the second group an insistence on an intervening period between archaistic and Archaic, but the chronological specifics are sufficiently heretical to establish his as a separate approach. In the manner of Schmidt, he downdates the beginning of the archaistic style by redefining earlier works as something else.[12] However, he goes further than Schmidt in that he includes even the fourth century Panathenaics among the traditional works which simply repeat Archaic forms and which are therefore not archaistic. He attributes the birth of the latter style to the third century B.C. and sees its development as primarily a Hellenistic phenomenon.[13] Becatti's approach is adopted and developed by Havelock.[14] She shows that most of the figures in Neo-Attic archaistic reliefs are so similar as to be variations on a single outline, perhaps even rendered by means of "cartoons" as models. This feature, she argues, suggests that their invention is far more likely to have occurred in the second than in the fourth century B.C.[15] Like Becatti, she argues that the first Archaistic works were created in early Hellenistic times.[16] Since the Becatti-Havelock theory is largely the result of redefinition, which is a subjective matter, it could be accepted were it not for the evidence from Samothrace. The dancing maidens on the frieze from the Temenos Propylon are consistent in form with Havelock's "cartoon"-like figures, so she has proposed a second century B.C. date for this building—a date which no other scholar has been able to accept.[17]

High Classical archaistic works certain herm types and the Hekate Epipyrgidia of Alkamenes. On the Brauron Altar: W.Fuchs, Boreas 7 (1984) 79-81. Pottery fragments with archaistic figures: Harrison 1965, 52, 62-63; R. Green, *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 82-94, pls. 30.10, 31.15. Herms: Harrison 1965,, 108-178, esp. 122-124. Willers 1967. Willers 1975, 33-47. A. Hermary, *BCH* 103 (1979) 137-149. Harrison (supra n.9) 497. Hekate: Fullerton 1986, w/bibliography on p.669, n.2.

[12] The essence of his view is summarized by the definition of "arcaistico," he provides in: *EAA* 1 (1958) 537: "Stile che rielabora in forma manierata e ornamentale modi arcaici, creando tipi e composizioni di contenuto originale e diverso da quello arcaico, e che si distingue pertanto dallo stile arcaizzante, che vuole ricreare intenzionalmente e dottament il linguaggio arcaico nella sua forma esteriore."

[13] For these theories see also: G. Becatti, "Revisione critiche—anfore panatenaiche e stile arcaistico," *RendPontAcc* 17 (1941) 85-95. Becatti 1941.

[14] Although her earliest publication on the topic follows Schmidt. C. Havelock, *HarvSt* 61 (1953) 73-84.

[15] Havelock 1964, 46-51.

[16] Ibid. 51-58. In another article (Havelock 1965) she argues more completely than did Becatti for the separation of certain Classical monuments from truly archaistic works. In the most recent work (Havelock 1980) she shows how the archaistic Athena was used broadly for political purposes in early Hellenistic times.

[17] Havelock 1964, 50, n.28. She reaffirms this opinion in: Havelock 1980, 50 n.63. On this structure and its sculptures: P. Lehmann & D. Spittle, *Samothrace V—The Temenos* (1982) 148-266. Appendix II (by M. Leeb Hadzi, pp.304-312) presents a view of ar-

It should already be clear that the various arguments for dating the archaistic style depend to some degree on the chronological assessment of particular monuments,[18] but of more fundamental importance is the definition of what archaistic is and what it is not. If we define archaistic as a quality of displaying archaism or archaisms, we must be careful to delineate archaism in this specific context from its meaning in common usage. In the latter, an archaism is any trait characteristic of an earlier time period and no longer current. However, in Greek and Roman art, a work is archaistic only if it dates after 480 B.C. but shares stylistic features with works of the Greek Archaic period.[19] "Archaistic" is thus distinguished from "classicizing" and "severizing," which would have to be included if the term "archaism" is used in its broadest sense.

This is of course the most inclusive possible application of the term "archaistic" which can actually be found in literature on the subject.[20] We have already seen how some scholars have constructed theories concerning the origin and development of the archaistic style by being more exclusive with the term. The primary distinction—archaistic vs. archaizing—is maintained by several scholars, but its use is not always consistent. Bulle first used the terms to distinguish between relief sculpture and sculpture in the round, respectively. Becatti follows Bulle in maintaining this same separation between relief and statue, but as was seen he also excludes from archaistic all Classical examples, regardless of medium. Ridgway's understanding of the terms is quite different; the former refers to works in which archaistic stylistic features are dominant, whereas in the latter style, such features are limited to a few details.[21] A third class of monuments is defined by Ridgway as "lingering Archaic." This obviously refers to the gradual transition from Archaic to Classical styles and the inevitability that features of each might be juxtaposed on the same work. Implicit

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chaistic art in light of the Samothrace material. Chronologically, she follows Schmidt in seeing the fourth century as the period of most important development. Methodologically, she (w/ Lehmann, pp.258-262) follows such nineteenth century scholars as Hauser and Furtwängler by associating the invention of the archaistic style in sculpture with the name of a "Great Master"—in this case Skopas (cf. pp.144-146).

[18] For example, the Athena-pig sacrifice relief (supra n.8), seen by most as archaistic but by Harrison as late sixth century (supra n.9) 497-498.

[19] Ridgway's observation that some late Archaic sculptures already show features we characterize as archaistic is stylistically correct, but unnecessarily complicates the already involved questions of terminology. Ridgway 1977, 307-310. She conveniently tabulates on pp.304-305 those specific stylistic traits which are considered characteristic of archaistic works. Also useful in this respect is Harrison's treatment of archaistic garment types and drapery renderings (Harrison 1965, 51-61). There is no need to repeat such a list here.

[20] Notably, Hauser, Folman, Harrison, Herdejürgen, and Pollitt. Harrison 1965, 50 is most explicit.

[21] Ridgway 1977, 303.

in her discussion although not explicit in her definition is the association of these works with areas outside the Greek mainland, both east and west. This same class of monument is termed by others as sub-Archaic.[22] When such a combination occurs in Athenian art, the phenomenon is rather less easy to explain, but it is generally dismissed as a kind of "mannerism."[23]

Some other scholars are, like the first group, inclusive in their application of the term "archaistic," but qualify the works into different categories by applying distinctions not unlike those used by the second group. Folman, for example, speaks of "pseudo-archaic," "mannered," and "free" archaistic styles.[24] The first is essentially Bulle and Becatti's archaizing, the third Ridgway's archaizing, and the second everything else. Pollitt establishes three different divisions of archaism—emblematic, representational, and comprehensive.[25] The first refers to such retained forms as the fifth century black-figure Panathenaic Athenas and Athena head coin obverses. The second is best exemplified by representations of statues in narrative scenes. The third is essentially everything else. His qualifications, therefore, are not unlike the exclusions of Schmidt, Becatti, and Havelock.[26]

That theories of development arise directly from the theories of origin and definition is so obvious that it would be tedious to go through all the permutations here. However, some problems should be considered. First, when archaistic features first occur and when a continuous archaistic tradition actually begins are two entirely different questions.[27] Moreover, the archaistic style is retrospective and eclectic by definition, it is heterogenous in appearance and function, and examples earlier than the second century B.C. are rare indeed. Therefore, there is some question as to whether one should expect even a continuous tradition, let alone an organic stylistic development. There are a few points of general agreement. First, sculptures in an archaistic style were not common before advanced Hellenistic times but became much more so during the Roman Empire. Second, in Hellenistic and Roman times at least there are some works

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[22] E.g., Willers 1975, 9-20.

[23] So Ridgway (1977, 307-310) on the Akropolis reliefs and some late Archaic works. The most numerous works of this kind are of course the vases by the so-called Mannerist painters, which were produced from the end of the Archaic period well down into High Classical times. Cf. below p.7.

[24] Folman 1935, 51-56.

[25] Pollitt 1986, 182.

[26] Except that he leans toward including the Hekate Epipyrgidia and "Alkamenean" herms as comprehensive. These could otherwise be dismissed as emblematic or even representational.

[27] As recognized by Pollitt 1986, 182.

which are decidedly less thoroughly archaistic than others.[28] Finally, the critical point of distinction between the main developmental schemes is whether most or all archaistic figures found on neo-Attic reliefs copy fourth century prototypes (following Schmidt and Fuchs, especially), or whether they are actually Hellenistic creations (as Becatti, Havelock, Harrison, and Pollitt).

It is essential that the point of view followed in this study be stated at the outset, since attitudes about the Roman statuary cannot help but be profoundly affected by perceptions of what came earlier. Therefore, while some of the basic points have appeared elsewhere,[29] it still seems worthwhile to provide an outline here. My own conception derives from a consideration of all available sources, but it may be biased by the particular attention paid to statuary in the round. In any case, the views concerning definition, origin, and development which are followed here do not vary substantially from those presented in some other recent studies.[30]

The term "archaistic" is used here in nearly its most inclusive sense. Ridgway's separation of archaistic and archaizing can be made very clear through selected illustrations, but it is ultimately arbitrary since it involves a distinction in degree. These statues range in style from very slightly archaistic to virtual reproductions of the Archaic, and all stages in between are represented. It is impossible to apply such terms objectively. Moreover, despite their very different functions, archaistic reliefs and statues sometimes betray some close similarities in stylistic features; in rare cases statue types can even be dated through comparison with relief representations. Therefore, Bulle and Becatti's version of the distinction is no more useful.[31] However, as will become clear from the treatment below, there are a number of different kinds of archaistic monuments, and a number of formally distinct archaistic styles.

There is no doubt that Archaic stylistic traits were retained into the Early Classical period on works in various media, but the evidence is not yet compelling that there is a continuous archaistic tradition from the end of the Archaic period itself. As others have noted before, the sub-Archaic or

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[28] Cf. especially, Borrelli 1949, and Heidenreich 1935, for that style which, as we have seen has been called free archaistic (Folman), Ionian (Bulle), and archaizing (Ridgway). It has not always been agreed whether the distinction is properly chronological or geographical. Cf. below pp.8-9.

[29] Fullerton 1986. Fullerton 1986b. Fullerton 1987.

[30] Especially Harrison, Ridgway, and Pollitt.

[31] This is not to say that there are not important differences between archaistic reliefs and archaistic statues, just as there are between relief sculpture and statuary in other styles (cf. below p.11). However, these are not so great as to prevent the use of the one term for the style they share. Besides, as Harrison has pointed out, the distinction is linguistically indefensible (p.50).

lingering Archaic works of the eastern and western Greek cities represent an entirely different phenomenon from that under discussion here, as do those examples classified by Pollitt as "emblematic" and "representational."[32] The few herms assigned to this period by Willers could just as easily be Archaic or Roman. As Harrison points out, the chronology of such monuments as these or the Akropolis relief is not sufficiently secure to provide a basis for developmental theories. Mannerism does occur in vase-painting; however, its motivation is not well understood, it does not continue beyond the fifth century, and parallel sculptural monuments are rare.[33] In any case, if we understand archaism as a conscious and deliberate reaching back in time rather than the retention of traits only recently superseded, then these monuments become eliminated by definition.

Archaistic art, including statuary, was created in the High Classical period, and it is the opinion held here that any archaistic tradition must be traced from this point.[34] Those favoring a late Classical or Hellenistic origin would object that these monuments are simply "emblematic" or "representational" rather than the beginning of something entirely new. The Hekate, however, is the first known example in a tradition of archaistic Artemis-Hekate peplophoros representations which continues through Late Classical, Hellenistic and well into Roman times.[35] Literary and extant physical evidence indicate that this monument did not repeat an Archaic form nor draw on a previous tradition of archaistic hekataia, but rather was an innovative creation, combining Archaic linear drapery patterning with a fully Classical garment.[36] Moreover, the vases cited show that the transformation of the Archaic Panathenaic Athena into its well-known archaistic form began already in the late fifth century. This development may have been inspired by Alkamenes' Hekate, since we find

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[32] See further on this: Fullerton 1986, 671-672.

[33] One can cite only the Mazarin torso: Louvre MA 690, Willers 1975, 65, pl.40.2, w/prev. bibl. This has more in common with mannerism in vase-painting than with any archaistic sculpture, so it would seem not to stand at the head of a tradition. The newly discovered and as yet unpublished relief from Nemea seems to fall into the same category. This phenomenon of Mannerism is not well-studied; it deserves further investigation, but it relates to the study at hand only in the most general way. Bulle (pp.31-32), of course, identifies many statues as copies of Early Classical originals, but each of these is shown below to be a much later creation.

[34] Absolutely certain are the archaistic figures on the Agora oinochoe fragments and the earliest archaistic peplos representations already on the Kuban group of Panathenaic amphorae. On the last group: *ABV* 411-412; below ch.3, p.3; Fullerton 1989,64. Nearly certain is the Hekate Epipyrgidia, representations of which do occur by the end of the fifth century, and the so-called Alkamenean herm types (supra pp.2-3 n.11).

[35] Cf. Fullerton 1987, 261-265. Infra pp. 13-22.

[36] This is argued at length: Fullerton 1986. Cf. Pollitt 1986, 182; he implies here that he believes the Epipyrgidia to be an example of "comprehensive" archaism. He follows the view proposed by Harrison (p.63).

these vases an archaistic peplophoros similar to the hekataion in garment but entirely different in pose, medium, and context. Any argument which depends on the Panathenaic Athena to date the beginning of the archaistic style must now recognize that the tradition begins already in High Classical times.[37]

Nonetheless, the fourth century remains an important stage in the development of archaistic forms, although just how important is not completely clear. From the Panathenaic amphorae and the Samothrace frieze —datable monuments—we learn that the archaistic style we are most familiar with, characterized by extremely mannered decorative forms, does begin in the Late Classical era. Most notable among these features is the elongated swallowtail with sickle-shaped corners which occurs on both peplos overfold and small wrapped mantle. Moreover, the dancing maidens on the Samothrace frieze wear the long diagonal mantle with multiply-pleated overfold that is so common on neo-Attic figures. Whether these neo-Attic figures themselves were created in the fourth century, as is traditionally held, or in the second is still a disputed point. I have elsewhere argued for the later date on grounds to be considered briefly below.[38] Another important development which certainly began in the fourth century is the development of a new archaistic style in which the Archaic patterns are limited to one or two elements on a figure which is otherwise fully Classical.[39] Perhaps the earliest example is a small dedication to Delian Artemis found on Paros which follows the Epipyrgidia in general type but which displays Late Classical drapery style.[40] Other fourth century examples include a pair of perirrhanteria at Eleusis and a votive relief in New York.[41]

The sculpture of the third century B.C. is notoriously difficult to

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[37] Further study of the Brauron Altar (supra n.11) may show that archaistic figures were even more widely used in the fifth century than can presently be documented.

[38] Fullerton 1987, 275-276. Although she rejects the radical downdating of the archaistic phenomenon proposed by Becatti and supported by Havelock, Harrison strengthened a part of their scheme through her reassessment of the Akropolis four-gods base as a Roman work (supra p.2, n.9). Opinion in the most recent literature is split. Willers (1975, 30-31, 62), for example, upholds the early date, thus continuing a tradition which began with Hauser in the last century. Pollitt (1986, 182) agrees with Harrison and the view followed here that most at least of the neo-Attic archaistic deities are late Hellenistic creations.

[39] This is of course the archaizing (Ridgway), Ionian (Bulle), or free (Folman) archaistic style.

[40] I. Kleeman, *AthMitt* 77 (1962) 216-222. For this statue and the origin and development of this style: Fullerton 1987, 261-265.

[41] Fullerton 1986b 209-210. Votive Relief: NY, M.M.A 25.78.59. G. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture* (NY 1954) 80-81, no.143, pl.105a. This relief, dated by the letter forms of its inscribed dedication, is a cornerstone of Havelock's chronological scheme (1964, 44-46).

characterize owing to the paucity of datable monuments in any style,[42] but an archaistic tradition seems to have continued uninterrupted into early Hellenistic times. An Egyptianizing version of the "free" style can be found in some of the figures on Ptolemaic faience oinochoai datable to the third century.[43] Less secure but generally accepted is the third century date for two archaistic relief types—the round dance of Pan and the nymphs and the Louvre-Freiburg type of Dionysos with four Horai.[44] That the tradition begun by the Artemis on Paros continued uninterrupted into Hellenistic times is documented by numerous Artemis-Hekate figures which repeat the type. Most of these are small and from East Greek sites, but one life-size version was excavated in a mainland Greek sanctuary.[45] Although these figures are believed to date to the second century and later, there is no reason to believe that their production ceased during the early Hellenistic period.

At some point, probably during the early second century, a new figure type was created, apparently specifically for statuary, which combines the graceful pose of the Samothracian maidens with the now popular "freer" archaistic style. Pergamon has been seen as the home of this type, which continued in the eastern Mediterranean well into the Roman Imperial era, and the "Pergamon Dancer" from the Attalid palace is its most famous representative.[46] Although its beginnings can be traced to fourth century Attika and the Cyclades, the style represented by both the dancer and Artemis types is referred to here as "East Greek Hellenistic" for three reasons. The style reached its greatest popularity and found its greatest variety of application in the Hellenistic cities of Asia Minor and environs. Its use continued undiminished throughout the Roman Imperial era in this same area. It was largely supplanted in the Greek mainland before ca.100 B.C. by a new archaistic style.

This new style, termed "neo-Attic," is best known to us from Roman decorative reliefs, but it has been argued elsewhere that it developed from

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[42] Cf. Pollitt 1986, 17-18, 265-271.

[43] Thompson 1973, nos.122-123, pls.43-44.

[44] On these see especially Havelock 1964, 51-55 and infra p.127. There is no question that the three-dimensionality seen in the composition of the former and the figures of the latter recalls late Classical and early Hellenistic sculptural styles. However, to preclude a later date for their invention is to underestimate the versatility of the eclectic neo-Attic workshops.

[45] Thebes, Archaeological Museum. Fullerton 1987, 263, pl.17.2. The statue in question was found at Aulis.

[46] Berlin, Pergamon Museum Inv. no.43. F. Winter, *Pergamon* VII,1 (1907) 63-69, no.43. Together with the torso of a similar figure in Istanbul (Arch. Mus. Inv. no. 431) this may have been part of a group of Charites by Boupalos known to have stood in this palace. Heidenreich 1935, 689-690. Fullerton 1987, 265-270.

the Pergamene dancer type on statuary like the Chigi-Munich Athena type.[47] The best known relief version is the procession of Hermes, Athena, Apollo, and Artemis known from Hellenistic examples in Athens and on Delos.[48] Both Artemis and Athena on this relief represent variations on a figure type which displays such a clear dependence on Middle Hellenistic Pergamene developments that it can only have been created in the neo-Attic workshops of the the second century. Also included in this group are the Akropolis four-gods base and a large Dionysos relief from Chalandri, which have conventionally been placed in the fourth century.[49]

This neo-Attic tendency to create variations on a few basic figure types continues into the first century and the Roman Imperial era.[50] The famous relief in the Capitoline signed by the Athenian neo-Attic sculptor Kallimachos is characteristic of late Republican work.[51] The artist here shows in adjacent figures how the logical if artificial archaistic wrapped mantle can be rendered illogical by adding a central pleat. The latter feature is borrowed from the figure type with long diagonal mantle which is also represented on this relief. The Augustan "Citharoedus" relief type shows both how the same basic type can be adapted for different deities, and, following Simon, how such a creation can serve a political purpose.[52] Further variations on the neo-Attic figure types are offered by the still iconographically enigmatic bases found at Corinth and datable to the early Empire.[53] It is important to note that archaistic reliefs in Roman times can include entire scenes copied from the neo-Attic figural repertoire, the rearrangement of such figures into new groupings, new variations on the figure types themselves, and even figures quite unlike any

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[47] Fullerton 1987, 272-278. Cf. below on this type (3IIIA).

[48] Fuchs 1959, 45-51. Harrison 1965, 81-84, no.189. LIMC II (1984) s.v. "Apollo"/Apollon" 415, no.371 (E. Simon); s.v. "Artemis" 717, nos. 1167-1172 (L. Kahil).

[49] Fullerton 1987, 276, n.70. Cf. above.

[50] A recent study which conveniently categorizes and investigates many of the most common neo-Attic figure types is Cain 1985. This study of candelabra shows how these figures, mostly archaistic and classicizing, are mixed and combined in purely decorative contexts.

[51] BrBr 654.1. Fuchs 1959, 127-128. Pollitt 1986, 177-178, fig. 187 w/bibliography in n.15. Infra pp.90-91. This relief is, of course, one basis for Furtwängler's attribution of the archaistic style to the Classical Kallimachos. The signature here is surely that of a neo-Attic artist.

[52] Simon 1986, 122, fig.158. LIMC II (1984) s.v. "Apollon/Apollo" 411-413, nos. 348-354 (E. Simon). The figures of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto recur on a candelabrum of Augustan date: Cain 1985, 177-178, no.79; the types involved are his Apollo 2 (pp.100-102), Artemis 1 (p.104), and Leto (p.114). Cf. infra ch.7, p.1; ch.9, pp.19-20, 22.

[53] Fullerton 1986b 213 w/previous bibliography in n.38.

thing found in Hellenistic art.[54] What happens in the contemporary development of archaistic statuary is, of course, the subject of this book.

The limitation of this study to sculpture in the round can be justified on a number of grounds.[55] First of all, archaistic statuary has received far less attention in existing scholarship than has its relief counterpart. Moreover, the treatment here is not presented in isolation from other manifestations of the archaistic style but very much in consideration of them. Finally, this limitation allows concentration on problems which are especially relevant to the study of statuary. Whereas archaistic relief was, especially in Roman times, primarily decorative, a statue in the round might more easily have served a number of other functions as well. Some of the statues here were almost certainly votive, and some may even have been cult images.[56]

The primary question involving Roman statuary of this kind is of course that same question of copy vs. imitation which complicates the entire study of Roman *Idealplastik*. Conservative practice dictates that an individual statue should be treated as a creation of its own time period. However, when a number of replicas determines the existence of a statue type, other questions must be considered: Does the type copy an earlier monument? Is it rather a Roman creation which was then copied in Roman times? How can we tell the difference? These questions are familiar from many other studies,[57] but our situation is somewhat different. We are not, in most cases, trying to distinguish between archaistic and Archaic, which is a relatively easy matter. The object here is usually to determine whether a type reproduces a Classical or Hellenistic archaistic prototype, which would itself display a mixture of styles. Thus, some of the

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[54] E.g. the Aigisthos relief from the Artemis grove at Lake Nemi; infra p.203.

[55] Three classes of monument which could be considered under the heading of statuary in the round have been excluded: herms, hekataia, and heads without bodies. All three have received ample treatment elsewhere and all involve problems somewhat different from those raised by the far less frequently studied material collected here. On herms, see supra n.11 and Wrede 1985. On hekataia, see Kraus 1960; Harrison 1965, 86-107; supra n.11. For heads, see Herdejürgen, 1968 & 1972; also infra p.24. This material and these studies are of course frequently referred to here for comparative purposes.

[56] This is not, of course, to say that reliefs could not have been votive or cult objects, since some certainly were, especially in pre-Roman times. The simple fact is, however, that archaistic relief in Roman times usually occurs on neo-Attic vases and panel reliefs which were primarily decorative in function. Conversely, some of the archaistic statuary was probably decorative, but the question of function is in this case somewhat more open. See the fuller treatment in ch.9.

[57] Cf. Ridgway 1984, 1-6 w/previous scholarship. As she points out, the questions have been around since Lippold's groundbreaking treatment: *Kopien und Umbildungen griechischer Statuen* (Munich 1923). It is remarkable how little they have been applied to the study of archaistic statuary. Cf., however, Zanker 1974, xiv-xvii.

stylistic inconsistencies which help distinguish, for example, between Classical and classicizing are of little help here where we must assume that any prototype was already eclectic.

The main purpose of this study is the creation of a stylistic typology of Roman archaistic statuary. As the chapter headings show, the statues are grouped iconographically, but the primary method of organization is stylistic.[58] When possible, figure types are isolated and in the few cases where the neo-Attic practice of using similar types for different deities is encountered, it is the stylistic criterion which is respected. For each type or statue, stylistic clues are examined in order to determine which earlier monuments or stylistic trends may have been used by the Roman sculptor as a source of influence as well as to identify what innovations he may have introduced. The arrangement by deity, on the other hand, maintains a parallel focus on questions of function and motivation, which are equally critical to our understanding of the archaistic phenomenon. In this way we hope to establish whether there is any such thing as a characteristically Roman style in archaistic statuary, for what purposes this style was used, and what the style might have meant to the Roman viewer.[59]

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58 The abbreviation system used in referring to catalogue entries is straightforward and is designed to maintain brevity in the narrative. The first number refers to the chapter, and the subsequent numbers and letters pertain to subdivisons within each chapter which are expressed explicitly in the separate catalogues. References to monuments catalogued within a given chapter are given without the initial number.

59 These questions and others are considered at length in chapter nine.

CHAPTER TWO

ARTEMIS / DIANA

There exist two distinct traditions of archaistic Artemis. She is prominent among the Olympian deities which are as a group first given archaistic form on Neo-Attic reliefs, where she is closely related to Athena.[1] Such similarity must be related to the fact that both the warlike Athena and Artemis the huntress are goddesses of action.[2] This type of archaistic Artemis finds expression in round statuary only in the Pompeii Artemis type which, as is shown below, has a strong martial association. The second form of archaistic Artemis derives from her close association with Hekate, perhaps the earliest deity archaized. The two goddesses share an archaistic form at least as early as the fourth century B.C.; that their assimilation is complete by the time of the Roman Empire is shown by the archaistic image of Diana Nemorensis known from late Republican coins. It is with the somewhat more complex Artemis-Hekate types that we begin.

I. Artemis-Hekate

A. Artemis and Hekate

The association of Hekate with Artemis was both intimate and early. Kraus has cited Homer's use of the epithet "ἕκατος" for Apollo and Hekate's prominence in Apollo's early cult at Miletos as evidence for a Carian dyad of Hekatos and Hekate soon Hellenized as Apollo and Artemis.[3] An early goddess Hekate is also mentioned by Hesiod as a first cousin to the Letoidae.[4] An alternative to Kraus' view sees in ἕκατος and ἑκάτη simple epithets for Apollo and Artemis—contractions for the more common Homeric ἑκατηβόλος.[5] Whether an independent goddess Hekate existed before the assimilation to Artemis or she is to be seen as a later personification of some of Artemis' more dreadful aspects, the rela-

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[1] As seen on the Athens-Delos relief type, ca.100 B.C., the two figures are nearly interchangeable with the necessary modifications in attributes. Cf. Fullerton 1987, 275. Supra p.10.

[2] Artemis and Athena are also alike in being unmarried and always shown fully clothed, most often in a peplos, although Artemis as huntress usually wears a short chiton.

[3] Kraus 1960, 11-13. For Artemis-Hekate and the related Artemis-Enodia: LIMC II (1984) 686-689 (L. Kahil). Also on Enodia: A. Pantos, *Archaiognosia* 2 (1981) 96-106.

[4] Hesiod, *Theog.* 404-452.

[5] K. Wernicke, s.v. "Artemis," *RE* 2^1 1336-1440, especially 1356-1357. Heckenbach, s.v. "Hekate," *RE* 7^2 2769-2782.

tionship between the two deities is certainly established by the early fifth century, when the chorus in Aischylos' *Suppliants* (l.676) invokes Artemis-Hekate as protectress of childbirth. Their later association is underlined by a frequent sharing of epithets and attributes. The torch, held by Hekate in the Archaic Homeric Hymn to Demeter (ll.51-58), is connected with Artemis in the fifth century in literature, sculpture, and vase-painting.[6] In Euripides' *Phoenissae* (l.109) Antigone invokes, "ἰὼ πότνια παῖ Λατοῦς Ἑκάτα."

Early representations of Hekate show a girlish peplophoros indistinguishable iconographically from Artemis.[7] With the erection of the Hekate Epipyrgidia on the Athena Nike bastion c. 425, the archaistic triple-bodied Hekataion is established as a virtually canonical form for this goddess, who becomes one of the first deities to be archaized.[8] In Late Classical times, at least one statue of Artemis resembles the type of the Epipyrgidia in single-bodied form, although the archaistic details are suppressed. Similar figures, both small scale and large, are common in the Hellenistic and Roman era – especially, although not exclusively, in the eastern Aegean. Where their identity can be surmised, these too represent Artemis or Artemis-Hekate.[9] Their stylistic development mirrors that of the numerous contemporary triple-bodied Hekataia. That the Romans identified Hekate with Diana, sometimes in triple-bodied form, is obvious already in Republican and Augustan poetry. Catullus (*Carm.* 34) refers to "Diana Trivia," and Vergil (*Aen.* IV,511) mentions "tergeminam Hecatem." Horace (*Carm.* III,22) calls Diana "diva triformis." Meanwhile, the production of triple-bodied hekataia continues undiminished throughout the Roman Imperial era.[10]

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[6] Sophokles, *Tr.* 214, presents Artemis as both archer and torchbearer. *O. T.* 207 implies her fire-wielding nature. Aristophanes, *Lys.* 443, calls her "φωσφόρος." Artemis with bow and torch occurs frequently in Classical times. Cf. LIMC II (1984) 654-662. Some examples: on a relief in Berlin—C. Blümel, *Die klassische griechischen Skulpturen des staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin 1966) 57-58, no. 66, fig.99; and on a lekythos by the Achilles Painter—*ARV*² 993,80. Syracuse 21186, from Gela. *MonAnt* 17 (1906) pl.8. Both of these are mid-fifth century works. From the later fifth century, representations of Artemis with a torch: Bologna (Pell. 303). *ARV*² 1184,6. *CVA* Italia 27 pl.82.8 (detail); notice that Artemis' garment here is treated rather similarly to that of the Alkamenean Hekataion, especially the edge of the peplos overfold. From the fourth century: Vienna (inv. no. 204). *ARV*² 1523,2. *CVA* Öst. 1, 26-27.

[7] For a good recent treatment of the early iconography of Hekate: Edwards 1986, esp. 315-318.

[8] Fullerton 1986, w/previous bibliography p.669 n.2.

[9] This material has been recently collected: Fullerton 1987, 261-265. Cf. also supra p.8 n.40.

[10] Note also three examples in Roman wall painting of Artemis figures in hekataion form dating from the first century B.C. to the first century A.C. LIMC II (1984) 810-811 nos. 45, 46, and 193. The last is from the so-called house of Livia on the Palatine (cf. infra n.18) and may actually represent the sanctuary at Nemi discussed below.

B. Diana Nemorensis

The most prominent archaistic triple-bodied image of Diana in the Roman world was surely that at the ancient and rustic sanctuary near Lake Nemi, although our knowledge of this statue has to be reconstructed from rather indirect evidence.[11] The cult located in this sacred grove was apparently quite ancient, since an inscription transcribed by Cato the Elder names as its dedicator a confederation of Latin cities under a Tusculan dicatator.[12] Historical considerations favor a date of ca. 500 B.C., after the expulsion of the Tarquins and during Porsenna's occupation of Rome.[13] The existence of a corresponding Diana cult on the Aventine, traditionally a Servian foundation, is also cited as evidence for the antiquity of the Nemorensis cult.[14] However, the archaeological evidence suggests a somewhat different picture; the site has produced no votives earlier than the third century B.C., and the remains of the temple podium seem late second century at the earliest.[15] While architectural remains need not always be as early as the dedication of the sanctuary, the complete lack of early votives is unusual, even considering the pillaging and dispersal of the evidence.

Contributing heavily to the belief that the cult of Diana Nemorensis was as old as the Archaic period is the appearance of that deity's cult statue, which was recognized by Alföldi in the denarius reverse types of P. Accoleius Lariscolus, *quattuorvir monetalis* in 43 B.C.[16] This image (Fig.1) had previously been identified as the *nymphae querquetulanae*, but Alföldi

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[11] On Diana Nemorensis—the goddess, the excavations, and the statue: Paribeni 1981. Pairault 1969, 425-271. Riis 1966, 67-75. Paribeni 1961. Alföldi 1960, 137-144. Summary of excavations and analysis of evidence: Marpurgo 1903. Investigations in the grove began as early as the seventeenth century and were also continued in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Before Marpurgo's work, excavation was essentially systematic treasure-hunting, but at least enough records were kept to indicate those, collections to which the material has been dispersed, even if none of it can be treated as of indisputable provenience. The find are located in museums at Palma (on Mallorca), Nottingham, Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek), and in the Terme at Rome. Some later work was undertaken in the theater area near the Diana sanctuary: *NSc*, 1931, 237-309.

[12] As quoted: Priscianus, *Institutionum Grammaticarium* 4,21. 7,60 = H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini* (Leipzig 1855) v.II 129, 137.

[13] As argued by Alföldi 1960, 144.

[14] The question of priority is not agreed upon. Alföldi rejects the Servian date and sees the Aventine cult as a Roman replacement, datable to 456 B.C., of the Arician cult. Pairault (1969, 426-434) accepts the Servian date for the Roman cult and sees the Arician Diana, on whose date she agrees with Alföldi, as a Latin imitation.

[15] Marpurgo (1903, 338-341) who sees the cult as a fourth century foundation. For the podium base molding: L.T. Shoe, *MAAR* 28 (1965) 160. Shoe places this molding in a series with others dating ca.100 B.C.

[16] M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (Cambridge 1974) no. 486,1. LIMC II (1984) no. 193. See especially Alföldi 1960.

showed that the actual subject was a triple-bodied statue in a cypress grove. Identification as Diana Nemorensis was argued on the basis of the *gens Accoleia's* origin in nearby Aricia. The coins themselves show three images of the goddess standing side-by-side and connected by a bar at shoulder level. The image at proper right holds a bow in its right hand and that at the left holds a flower in its left. The figure at far right wears a chiton and long diagonal mantle fastened at the left shoulder, while the other two wear the peplos belted over a long overfold. On the obverse is depicted an archaistic head held to be that of the cult image; the three different hairstyles found represented by the different dies of this issue may depict the three different heads of the image.[17] The image is generally considered to be a late sixth century Italic work, probably the creation of an Etruscan artist influenced by Archaic Greek sculptural style.[18]

It is, however, far more likely that the image represented on the coins of Lariscolus reflects a late Republican archaistic creation. First, according to Pausanias, there were no triple-bodied hekataia before Alkamenes' Epipyrgidia, and none have been found to refute him. Second, the figures on the coins are clearly imitations of the "Alkamenean" archaistic hekataion with which they share garment type, shape of overfold, central pleat, and herringbone skirt folds. The girding of the garment, however, is very high, reflecting Hellenistic practice. This combination of Classical and Hellenistic features suggests late Republican eclecticism in the manner of the Pasitelean school, whose activity is datable to the mid-first century B.C.[19] The moldings of the temple podium and a gilt bronze ar-

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[17] Alföldi (1960, 138) recognizes the three types and uses them to set a chronology of the coins; he apparently sees no further significance in them, attributing their invention to the die-cutter. A marble head of similar type found at Nemi and now in the Terme museum has also been connected by Paribeni (Paribeni 1961) with the Nemorensis type; he dates it to the Flavian era.

[18] Alföldi 1960, Paribeni 1961 & 1981, Riis 1966, and Pairault 1969.

[19] On Pasiteles and his school see, most recently, Pollitt 1986, 174-175 w/bibliography on p.298. A painting of a sacred grove in room IV of the "House of Livia" on the Palatine includes three hekataion-like images. Simon sees the painting as a representation of the sanctuary of Diana at Aricia; she furthermore points out that this cult was of particular importance to Augustus, aside from his general tendency to patronize cults of Apollo and Diana, since his mother was of Arician origin. The images in the painting, apparently of bronze, judging from their dark color, are different from those on the coin of Lariscolus in several ways. The three figures are not directly connected, and they do not face all in the same direction. Whereas the coin figures show variety in garment and attributes, the figures in the painting are apparently all dressed in the peplos belted over a long overfold and each holds a pair of torches. In short, the figures in the painting conform more thoroughly to the type of the Classical and Hellenistic hekataion. The painting may be intended to show a different sacred grove to Artemis, a generic sacred grove to Artemis, or, if Aricia is intended, the painter may have simplified the figures by using a more conventional type. The deer heads attached to the betyl in the painting assure us that a cult place for Artemis is depicted; the painting reaffirms the connection in early Imperial times be-

chitectural frieze document considerable building activity in the Nemi grove at just this time.[20] The coins assure us that the statue group was erected before 43 B.C., and historical considerations suggest a date after the end of the Social War. We can propose with some conviction a date for the statue group roughly in the second quarter of the first century B.C.

C. Statuary Related to the Diana Nemorensis

The archaistic statues and statuettes collected in section I of the catalogue can all be related to the cult image of Diana Nemorensis as it is known from the coins of Lariscolus. Type IA certainly represents Artemis and shares with the coin images a similarity of pose and certain drapery features. Type IB is an only slightly archaizing variation on type IA. Type IC probably originated as a more thoroughly archaistic version combining features of both IA and IB. Moreover, there is some variety within the types, most noticeably in the substitution of the diagonal mantle for the peplos; both garments are found on the coin images as well. The stylistic relationships among the three types, and their association with Diana Nemorensis in recent scholarship warrant their treatment together in this context.[21]

The two statues in Tripolis and Ephesos (Figs.2-3), both dated by their excavators to the second century A.C., clearly reflect the existence of a statue type since they correspond with one another virtually fold for fold. The quiver on the plinth of the Ephesos statue (Fig.2) identifies the type as an Artemis, although the garment rendering, especially the treatment of the skirt, would suggest an Artemis or Artemis-Hekate even if the attribute had been lacking. The rigid position of the legs and the pattern of folds over them—a central pleat with flanking symmetrical arrangement of looping modelling folds—is that found on hekataia from the fifth century B.C. on, and the scheme is used for Artemis at least as early as the fourth century.[22] In contrast to the conventional arrangement found on archaistic hekataia, however, the overfold of this type is neither belted nor arranged with an archaistic swallowtail border. The rendering here is closer to that found on works of the Severe period or on Roman Severizing creations,[23] but two prominent features are paralleled on neither Early

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tween Artemis and the triple-bodied hekataion-like archaistic cult image. For the painting see Simon 1986, 188-189 figs. 245-247.

[20] Morpurgo 1903, 316.

[21] Many of these statues are collected in Paribeni 1981.

[22] Fullerton 1986, 671. Fullerton 1987, 262. Supra p.8.

[23] Cf. the Bronze Dancers from Herculaneum: L. Forti, *La Danzatrici di Ercolano* (Naples, 1959). I. Sgobbo, "Le 'Danzatrici' di Ercolano," *RendAccNapoli* 46 (1971) 51-74. Wojcik 1986, 203-217.

Classical sculptures nor other Roman imitations. First, the rendering of buttoned sleeves should indicate that the figure is wearing a chiton under the peplos, but the single skirt hem usually indicates that only one garment is worn. Second, the outer corners of the overfold fall in an unusually long pattern of zig-zags which is nearly mirrored in the edge of the chiton falling from either arm. This linear patterning and the inclusion of the chiton are archaisms introduced to make the basically Severe upper body stylistically compatible with the archaistic treatment of the legs. Similar eclecticism can be detected in the head. The narrow face displays late Classical or Hellenistic proportions and structure, while the hairstyle is similar to schematic early Classical fashions in front but long and archaizing in back. By any standards the type is a pastiche of various Classical and archaistic forms.

The Copenhagen type (IB) has been treated elswhere as identical with the Ephesos type (IA), but two different, albeit related, types are clearly discernible.[24] The treatment of the drapery over the torso is indeed very similar in both types, although there are two important distinctions. The catenaries on the Copenhagen type (Fig.4) are more numerous and schematized, and since the chiton sleeve on this type does not fall far from the arm, the pattern of triangles seen on the Ephesos type is lacking. It is in pose and corresponding treatment of drapery over the legs that the differences are most pronounced. The pose retains an archaizing stiff-legged appearance, but the the right leg is advanced and the feet are slightly askew, as one would see in Classical works. The skirt retains the archaism of a dominant central pleat and adds the also archaizing skirt-pulling gesture, but the pattern of folds over the left leg is animated and deeply carved. Good parallels for this arrangement do not occur before the Hellenistic period.[25] This type, then, is most likely to be understood, like type A, as a Roman pastiche of Severizing and archaizing features.[26]

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[24] Beginning with Poulsen (1937, 30-31) the statues in Tripolis (IA2), Copenhagen (IB1), Catania (IIB2), Vatican (IIB3), and the Museo Barracco (IIB4) are treated as one type together with a sixth example listed by Poulsen as having once been in the Roman art market (NegInstRom B1156). The group is kept together in Paribeni's recent study despite the discovery and publication of the Ephesos statue. I have added the statue in Japan to this group despite its diagonally wrapped mantle since its overall pose and the treatment of the drapery over its legs are very close to that of the other statues in the group.

[25] Cf. works in the Hellenistic archaizing style especially associated with the Eastern Greek world, e.g. the "dancer" from the Attalid Palace at Pergamon: supra p.9.

[26] The Hope peplophoros in Baltimore and related statues differ from the Copenhagen type in being much more thoroughly Severe/Severizing in style: B.S. Ridgway, *Hesperia* 38 (1969) 213-222. Ridgway 1970, 144 no.5; idem, *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984) 29-58. The last study deals with the Elgin peplophoros in Malibu, which Ridgway sees as an Ionic early Classical original with an Attic component in its style.

Whether the two types A and B are directly related and if so, which derives from which must for now remain open questions. One might only observe that the garment arrangement of the latter type is inherently logical whereas that of the former is not.

The four marble peplophoros statues and four bronze statuettes of type C (IC1-5) (Figs.5-7) would all seem to derive from one original. The forearms of the marble statues are missing or restored, but the bronzes (Fig.7) suggest that the arms of the original were stretched forward holding attributes, probably a flower in the right hand and a pomegranate in the left. The bronzes all have a similar hairstyle with a flat cap of wavy hair, double row of snail curls, and long hair in the back. The head of the Hope (IC1) statue (Fig.5) differs in having a triple row of curls. The preserved heads show a variety of styles ranging from bland classicism to, on the Melbourne piece, a fleshy archaistic style characteristic of the late Hellenistic period.[27]

The statue in Berlin (ID1) is a somewhat illogical variation on the type (Fig.8). In its pose and skirt drapery pattern it is the same as the type C figures, but the mantle has a diagonal zig-zag border which runs continuously over the left shoulder and diagonally across the back. If the usual archaistic long diagonal mantle with overfold is intended, its fastening (usually at the right shoulder) should be indicated; the garment should probably be understood as the wrapped mantle, which normally covers the left shoulder to leave the right arm free. This garment is frequently worn by male figures, especially Dionysos.[28] However, the diagonal border with zig-zag edge (which is literally impossible if either garment is worn with an overfold), should on the wrapped mantle hang vertically from the left shoulder in back, and the other corner of the garment should be visible in front. Both of these features are found on the Torlonia example (ID2) (Fig.9), which would indicate that the garment intended, insofar as archaistic dress can be taken literally, is the wrapped mantle. Yet the skirt drapery on this figure is entirely different from that found on the Berlin statue and at the same time very close to that of the figures collected in type B above. The third statue in group D (ID3) is essentially identical to the Torlonia statue, so there may have been a prototype for both.

The feature which connects groups C and D is the peculiar pattern of two equally long triangular sections of drapery with zig-zag edges that form the overfold of the outer garment. The arrangement can be understood in a variety of ways. On a number of different types of archaistic

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27 The Dumbarton Oaks statuette similarly displays a trace of an Archaic smile. For archaistic faces see below p.24.

28 For some archaistic examples, see below on Dionysos figures in group 6IIB, pp.138-140.

statues, the zig-zag pattern of hanging drapery under the (usually) right arm of an Archaic kore is transplanted, illogically, onto the overfold of a long diagonal mantle.[29] The same process may have been responsible for the creation of this type, except that since the mantle is fastened on both shoulders, the overfold consists of two such patterns.[30] However, as we have seen there exist statues of this same type on which the mantle is fastened at one shoulder only. Perhaps a more plausible explanation sees the arrangement as an exaggeration of the swallowtail pattern characteristic of the overfold on an archaistic peplos, as e.g. on the Classical hekataion type. Since both types involve the peplos, the long falling drapery pattern does not fall under the arm as on the Archaic kore.[31] However, a major discrepency is that the hekataion is conventionally girded over the overfold whereas the Sciarra type figures are not. A final possiblity is that this peculiar overfold arrangement is merely an exaggerated version of the zig-zag patterns formed by the overfold and chiton sleeves on the Ephesos type (IA). The garment for both types is in this case the unbelted peplos; one is simply more thoroughly archaistic than the other. In favor of this derivation is the connection suggested by the various treatments of the skirt drapery. That on type C and figure D1 is quite similar to that of type A, except that the left leg in the former is slightly advanced and unbent in a genuine Archaic pose. The dominant central pleat and clinging cloth over the legs are maintained. Figures D2-3 show a pose and arrangement of skirt drapery virtually identical to that of the type B figures, which are closely related themselves to type A. All four types A-D can therefore be seen to be eclectic creations of Roman sculptors who combine certain number of Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, and Archaistic renderings in a variety of ways. They may well have emanated from the the same workshop or school, so closely intertwined are the features that they share, and also for this reason the establishment of a clear stylistic genesis of one type from the other(s) is impossible.

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[29] As for example on the Doria-Pamphili Dionysos (6IIA5).

[30] There are a number of peplophoroi which show a less exaggerated zig-zag fall of drapery at one or both sides of the overfold. Note especially the central figure in the Neo-Attic group of Charites "of Sokrates." In the Chiaramonti relief, believed to be most faithful to the original, the Charis shows this mannered drapery rendering at the open right side of the peplos only. A variant on the type seen in a fragment from the Akropolis has zig-zag patterns at both sides of the overfold, and may have been influenced by the statue types under discussion here. Whether this Neo-Attic type recreates a Classical original is a source of dispute. For the group: LIMC III (1986) s.v. "Charis/Charites" 196-197 no.25 w/bibliography (E. Harrison). For a genuinely fifth century figure which has an overfold treatment quite close to that of the central Chiaramonti Charis, cf. the running maiden from Eleusis; this piece is transitional between Archaic and early Classical and should date shortly before or after 480 B.C. Edwards 1986, 312-313 suggests 485-480.

[31] In fact, the statuette in Paris (IC5d), one of the less rigid and schematized examples, looks quite similar to the archaistic hekataion type.

A final consideration is what, if anything, some or all of these statues have to do with the cult statue of Diana Nemorensis as represented on the coins of Lariscolus. Paribeni has argued the the Sciarra type (IC) copies a late Archaic cult statue of Diana Nemorensis.[32] He notes a similarity between the Ephesos statue and the Sciarra bust, but does not detail the nature of that similarity.[33] The Ephesos type (IA) he sees as derived from the Copenhagen type (IB) with certain modifications; the addition of the bow necessitates the abandonment of the skirt-pulling gesture; the archaistic pose and skirt drapery is a direct reference to the Nemorensis. The Copenhagen type would then go back to an early Classical, probably East Greek, original of which a closer rendering can be seen in the Hope peplophoros in Baltimore and related statues.[34] A number of objections can be offered to Paribeni's arguments. Evidence for an Archaic cult statue of Diana Nemorensis is not strong enough to overcome the lack of archaeological evidence for early cult activity there.[35] He does not recognize that the coins show a very obviously archaistic figure type datable no earlier than the Hellenistic period. Moreover, his treatment fails to appreciate the complexity of the stylistic interrelationships among the various types and the degree to which Classical and Hellenistic features are integrated into them. In these statues poses and drapery renderings are mixed and matched in a manner most reminiscent of Neo-Attic or Pasitelean work.

There are certain general similarities between these statues and the figures of Diana Nemorensis on coins.[36] The pose and bow-brandishing

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[32] Paribeni 1961, 55; 1981, 42-43.

[33] Paribeni 1981, 43: "E questo non tanto nella somiglianza di rendimenti minuti di vesti e di andamenti di pieghe, quanto in certi accenti fondamentali, si direbbe, nel temperamento."

[34] Supra p.18 n.26. Note that the Elgin peplophoros is believed to be an original of East Greek origin.

[35] He cites stylistic similarity among three supposedly Archaic works which reflect the style of the original: a bronze head in Copenhagen, the Aigisthos relief there, and a statuette from Lavinium. The head, he feels, may even preserve a piece of the cult statue itself. The first two pieces are alleged to have been found during the early work at Nemi, not all of which was limited to the sacred grove. The Aigisthos relief is now believed to be a Roman archaistic work in Etruscan style, and in any case was not found in the sanctuary. Cf. Simon 1986, 122, fig. 159 w/bibibliography and comments on p.244. The head may therefore also be archaistic. The statuette need have nothing at all to do with Nemi. If Archaic, it would suggest that the peculiar peplos rendering of the type C figures has an early Etruscan precedent. It does not necessarily mean that the Roman creator of the type had this or any other Archaic precedent in mind.

[36] And perhaps wall paintings; cf. supra p.16 n.19.

gesture of the Ephesos figure is very close.[37] Elaborate zig-zag patterns are shared with the Sciarra type. Both the Sciarra and Copenhagen types occur in variations with the diagonal mantle, which is also the case for the right hand figure on Lariscolus' coins. It is clear that a late Republican cult statue of Diana Nemorensis was erected which was composed of three images each adopted from the archaistic Hellenistic Artemis-Hekate tradition. This same tradition contributed to the creation of Artemis types IA-D by eclectic sculptors of the late Republic and early Empire. A direct connection between them and Diana Nemorensis can be neither proved nor disproved but need not be assumed.

II. Artemis of Pompeii Type

That the three statues in Italy listed in the catalogue below (IIA1-3) (Fig.10-12) reflect a single original is certain, but the exact nature of that original is disputed. Studniczka proposed that it was the Archaic statue of Artemis Laphria taken from Kalydon by Augustus and given by him to Patrai,[38] but representations of the Laphria on Roman coins of this city show her to have been of a very different type.[39] Anti, followed by Pace, dissociated the Pompeii Artemis from the Laphria, but maintained the belief that it is a copy of an Archaic original; its dissimilarity from Greek Archaic work he attributed to its Italic, specifically Sicilian, origin. Years later Giuliano proposed just what Sicilian Archaic creation it may have copied—a Diana statue once in Segesta, removed to Rome in the first century B.C., and described at that time by Cicero.[40] As recently as 1983, the Pompeii Artemis type has been identified as a copy of an Archaic original in Rome.[41]

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[37] Although the attribute is held in the opposite hand; this situation is necessitated by its being held by the figure on the (proper) right at Nemi. The Ephesos statue holds the bow in the left hand where it logically belongs.

[38] Pausanias (7.18.10) attributes this statue to Manaichmos and Soidas of Naupaktos, who must have worked in the late Archaic period, since Pausanias places them just after Kanachos and Kalon; the latter is known from epigraphical evidence to have been active at the end of the sixth century. A. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* (Cambridge, MA 1949) 508-509.

[39] *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum—Peloponnesos* 26-29, pls. 5.17, 5.18, 6.1.

[40] *In Verrem* II, iv, 33, 72-74. "Erat admodum amplum et excelsum signum cum stola; verum tamen inerat in illa magnitudine aetas atque habitus virginalis; sagittae pendebant ab umero, sinistra manu retinebat arcum, dextra ardentem facem praeferebat." A major difference is that the Pompeii type holds no attribute in its right hand (which holds the skirt). Whether an object was held in its left hand is unknown, but a bow seems unlikely (cf. infra pp.28-29).

[41] Zanker 1983, esp. n.47 on pp.38-39. He does not indicate whether the original was Greek Archaic or Etrusco-Italic; he maintains that it would have stood either in the Palatine Apollo sanctuary or the Aventine Diana sanctuary. In a later publication, Zanker treats the statue as archaistic. Zanker 1987, 244.

Although Cicero's description agrees in some respects with the statue type, its non-Archaic features are best explained if the type is recognized as an archaistic creation of the first century B.C., an assessment which is strongly supported by the type's obvious eclecticism in incorporating Asiatic, Neo-Attic, and Roman traits.[42] In its proportions, pose, and garment it is heavily indebted to something like the Hellenistic Chigi-Munich "Athena" type (itself perhaps an Artemis).[43] It wears a similar long chiton with both plastic and crinkle folds; the zig-zag borders of two sections of Artemis' diploidion are clearly related to the zig-zag rendering of the Athena type's himation and overfold (Fig.28), while the diagonal accent is maintained on Artemis by her quiver strap. The vigorous stride marked by broad sweeping folds over one leg occurs on both, although the nature of the folds is quite different.[44] Despite the reversed pose, both statues share the mannerism of lifting the skirt at one side. The drapery of the Roman statue is considerably stiffened, especially in the chiton. Although the type of rendering with plastic and crinkly folds is similar, the Athena type has the deeply cut curved modelling folds taken over from the Pergamene style, while on the Artemis these have been transformed into a rigid vertical fan pattern between the legs. This general scheme is an Attic feature which goes back to the Athena on fourth century Panathenaic amphorae.[45] A similar stiffening tendency can also be seen in the overgarment, which displays an intelligible yet illogical drapery arrangement, apparently designed as a vehicle for a plethora of rigid zig-zags. On the whole, the drapery of the Pompeii Artemis seems one step further removed from reality than that of the Munich-Chigi "Athena", since plasticity and animation in the latter have given way to a precise yet artificial linear patterning in the former. In studies of Roman copies after Classical originals and of Roman Classicizing creations, a tendency to flat, precise, linear renderings has been recognized as characteristic of the Augustan period.[46] The drapery treatment of the Pompeii Artemis type suggests that it should also be assigned to the early Empire.

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[42] Cf. Harrison 1965, 57. Moreover, Bulle, Lippold, Harrison, de Franciscis, Simon, and Richter all classify the type as archaistic.

[43] On the Chigi-Munich Type: infra pp.65-67.

[44] On the Artemis these are formed by the garment being pulled tight against the advanced left knee. On the "Athena" they are formed by pulling up the skirt over the retracted left leg. Despite their very different causes, the folds function in much the same way visually; they give a swinging rhythm to the figure, which accentuates the forward stride.

[45] This pattern is not found on Greek Archaic works and seldom in Greek archaistic works where the pleats usually fan out from one or more principal pleats. The fanning occurs on early archaistic figures, e.g., some Panathenaic amphorae: Becatti 1941, pl. 19.3 (363 B.C., archonship of Charikleides).

[46] Copies: Lauter, *Zur Chronologie römischer Kopien nach Originalen des V. Jahrh.* (Bonn

A similar date is indicated by the archaistic style of the face. Although the headless state of most archaistic statuary makes definitive judgements impossible, it seems that archaistic faces do not occur in round statuary before the first century B.C.[47] Two general types have been recognized by Herdejürgen.[48] The earlier or "Asiatic" type is current in the first century B.C. It is best represented by the karyatid from Tralles,[49] and is characterized by full, rounded features and a rich fleshiness.[50] A somewhat different stye is recognized on archaistic heads dating to the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods.[51] These are more stylized than the earlier examples; facial planes are tauter and smoother, the features are sharper, and the "Archaic" smile is less pronounced. The latter style is seen as a result of the strongly Classicizing tendencies of the early Empire. The Pompeii Artemis head is basically of the earlier style, although those tendencies that led to the second group are already detectible. Its face shows Ionian fleshiness,but its cheeks are less puffy than those on the Tralles karyatid, and its eyes, lips, and nose are more sharply defined. In the facial features as in the drapery, soft and naturalistic Hellenistic forms are hardened through careful and precise linear definition, as is characteristic of Augustan work.

The style of the Pompeii Artemis therefore strongly suggests an Augustan date, but fortunately we have more than simply stylistic evidence at hand. The Naples replica was excavated at Pompeii in 1760; it was

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1966) 122. Zanker 1987, 260. Classicizing creations: Zanker 1974, 42. Also on Neo-Attic reliefs, cf. Fuchs 1959, 177-178. For this archaistic style, cf. Fullerton 1986b, 213. Cf. also the Herculaneum Pallas type (3IA).

[47] On archaistic heads, see Herdejürgen 1968b & 1972. Earlier figures on reliefs in Classical and Hellenistic times may sometimes have archaizing hairstyles, but the faces are Classical or Classicizing. The only pre-Roman archaistic statues with head preserved (the dancer from Pergamon in Berlin, the Artemis-Hekate on Paros) have Classical facial features. For these figures, Fullerton 1987, 262, 265-266. The archaistic figures of Artemis and Apollo on a pedestal from the well-known votive relief in Munich display archaisms in their facial features, but there is nothing which places this relief before ca. 100 B.C., and it may well be later. On this relief, most recently, Pollitt 1986, 196-197, fig.210 w/bibliography on p.299. The existence of archaistic faces of a kind in relief work is attested, of course, by the Athena heads on Classical Athenian coins, cf. Fullerton 1986, 671, n.13.

[48] 1972, 311-313. She especially associates these with representations of maenads.

[49] Schmidt-Colinet 1977, W51 (first century B.C.). For the Tralles karyatid and its replicas H. Laubscher, *IstMitt* 16 (1966) 125-126, 128-129, pls. 18.2, 24.1, 25.1. Laubscher suggests an Augustan date. Harrison 1965 (p.51) has noted affinities between the Pompeii Artemis and the Tralles karyatid in both drapery style and facial features. Cf. Ridgway 1984, 91 n.9.

[50] Features which also characterize the faces on the small Artemis and Apollo figures on the Munich relief mentioned above. This affinity could support both a late Hellenistic date for the relief and perhaps an Eastern Greek origin. Whether it is Eastern (i.e. Rhodian) or Attic has been a source of dispute.

[51] Herdejürgen 1968b, 213-229.

found in a small yet elegant shrine in a heavily remodelled Republican house. The shrine was of the last perod of Pompeiian construction, thus we have an irrefutable *terminus ante quem* of A.D. 79.[52] The second series of denarii struck at Lugdunum (established as a mint site by Augustus ca. 15 B.C.) features as one reverse type a representation of Diana (Fig. 13) very close to the Pompeii Artemis type; they are alike in pose, garment, and rendering of drapery, although the coin type differs in the position of the right hand.[53] The similarity is sufficiently close to suggest derivation of the coin type from the Pompeii Artemis or its prototype. These coins were minted only in the issue with legend: IMP X, thus we have a *terminus ante quem* of 11-9 B.C. for the type. Among the painted scenes which decorated the Farnesina house in Rome is a Classicizing group of Mars and Venus with the representation of a small Artemis statue in the foreground, which agrees in pose, form, and size with the Pompeii Artemis and must be a direct quotation of that statue's prototype. This house is dated to 35-25 B.C. on the basis of construction technique, while the program of wall decoration (transitional second/third Pompeiian style) is placed ca. 20 B.C., and provides a somewhat earlier *terminus ante quem*.[54] Since the stylistic analysis points to a date not very much earlier than this, all considerations indicate that the prototype of the Artemis of Pompeii should date to the early years of the Augustan principate.[55]

A study of the coins may provide further clues as to the meaning of the type.[56] The coin type in question is one of a group of early issues from the Lugdunum mint which deal with military subjects.[57] The very first issues (IMP X = 15-12 B.C.) bear four different reverse types. That with

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[52] L. Richardson, *AJA* 74 (1970) 202.

[53] The belligerent gesture is justified by the use of the image as Diana Siciliensis, a martial type through its connection with the battle of Naulochos. The format was probably taken over from the Classical image of Diana Siciliensis on the earlier (IMP X) series of denarii. On these see below pp.25-26.

[54] For these paintings see: Bragantini & de Vos 1982, 87 no.1207, A 8, pl. 21,31. Helbig[24] III 430-452 no.2482 (B.Andreae). For a summary of dating and a historical assessment of the structure: Beyen 1948; Bragantini & de Vos 22-24.

[55] Note that this date agrees with Zanker's date for the use of the type in the Apollo Palatinus complex, although he maintains the possibility that the type copies an Archaic statue. Cf. supra p.22 n.41.

[56] For an analysis of this issue: Kraft 1969, 25-35. Mattingly's interpretation remains largely unchanged: Mattingly 1923 (v.I), cxv-cxvi. More recently on related issues: Zanker 1983, 31-36. Jucker 1982, 82-100. LIMC II (1984) 826, no.228.

[57] This is in itself not surprising since this mint was established primarily to create a major western center for the production of precious metal coinage within the area of Augustus' *imperium*. It was indeed no coincidence that the Senatorial mint in Rome soon ceased issuing gold and silver coinage. Moreover, The principal function of this provincial coinage was to pay the legions. Cf., for the last Augustan issues from the Roman mint and their historical context, Fullerton 1985; see also below pp.26-27.

two (or, less frequently, one) soldiers offering branches to Augustus is a reference to Tiberius' and Drusus Nero's conquest of Rhaetia in 15, an event which provided the source for Augustus' tenth imperatorial title. The other three types seem to form a group. An Apollo citharoedus with legend ACT and Diana huntress with legend SIC both derive from Classical or Classicizing prototypes. The inscriptions provide unambiguous references to Augustus' critical victories at Actium (31 B.C) and Naulochos (36 B.C.) respectively. The fourth type, a butting bull with head turned to face, has been interpreted variously.[58] Coins marked IMP XI were struck only with the common Capricorn reverse type. In the series with legend IMP XII (11-9 B.C.), the previous types of Apollo, Diana, and bull are revived; new types of each also occur: the Diana type which resembles the Pompeii Artemis (Fig. 13), a draped archaistic Apollo citharoedus (Fig. 14), and a bull shown in a strict profile view.[59] These archaizing types do not occur earlier and only once later in the Augustan period.[60]

Why at this late date and limited to this period types should have been chosen which commemorate victories of the thirties B.C. has never been adequately explained, although contemporary coinage in Rome may give a clue. Types used during the last two years of precious metal coinage in the capital make frequent reference to M.Agrippa, who was renewed in his tribunical power in 13 B.C. and who died in 12 B.C. It may be that Augustus chose to refer explicitly to Naulochos and Actium at that time not only to honor his own victory, but also to allude to his partnership with Agrippa, whose role in these battles was prominent.[61] The new archaistic types of 11-9 B.C., which occur only after the death of Agrippa, may be in some way an allusion to his death. These statues

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[58] Mattingly suggests that it derives from a similar type on coins of Thurii and refers therefore to Augustus' obscure boyhood nickname, "Thurinus." Cf. Suetonius, *Div Aug* 2. Kraft, recognizing that three types should form a group on the basis of their revival on the IMP XII issue, sees the bull as a reference to Philippi. The latter explanation is strengthened by the fact that the pose of the bull in question is that commonly found among bulls shown as victims, and Kraft argues that the bull is shown as a sacrifice to Mars Ultor.

[59] Such a view may also have been considered archaistic in a way, when compared with the more three-dimensional pose of the IMP X series bull.

[60] The Artemis occurs on a unique gold medallion dated by its legend IMP XV to A.D. 2. S.L. Cesano, *Atti e memorie dell'Ist. Italiano di numismatica* 8 (1934) 104-144. Giuliano 1953, p.48, pl.22.2. The Apollo occurs on some Antonine restoration issues, cf. below n.62.

[61] On these coins: Fullerton 1985, 473-483, where a parallel is drawn with the Belvedere altar. This monument can be dated to 12 B.C. or a little later, yet it depicts the apotheosis of Julius Caesar, a much earlier event. It is there argued that the scene is used as a reference to Augustus' election *pontifex maximus*, and thus successor to Caesar again.

seem to quote from statues in the round;[62] possibly the statues formed part of a monument celebrating the victories of Augustus and Agrippa.[63]

Based on the evidence of the Farnesina painting, the original of the Pompeii Artemis type was a small statue dating from the early years of the Augustan principate.[64] If it formed part of a monument commemorating Naulochos and Actium, by far the most likely location would be the sanctuary of Apollo Palatinus, adjacent to Augustus' own residence. Zanker (1983) has recently made this same suggestion and discusses at some length the political nature of the Palatinus complex.[65] To his discussion I can only add the observation that there is strong evidence for the use of archaism in this sanctuary, and thus that the presence of archaistic figures in a battle monument here is not surprising.[66] The style

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[62] The Artemis, as we have seen, derives from the prototype of the Pompeii Artemis. The Apollo, shown in side view with its legs nearly together, would not seem to have been designed for a two-dimensional medium. Zanker (1983) has suggested that the Apollo of the IMP X series derives (with certain liberties on the part of the die-cutter) from the cult statue of Apollo Palatinus itself; he bases this on the revival of the type on coins of Commodus with legend: APOLLO PALATINO. He does not address the origin of the corresponding Artemis; if we accept with Zanker the relationship between the Palatine cult statue group and the figures of Apollo, Leto, and Artemis on the Sorrento Base, the Artemis SICIL can certainly have no connection with this group since it is of an entirely different type. Nor would one expect such a vigorously posed figure as part of a cult statue group. Zanker has rightly stressed the peaceful nature of Apollo Actiacus as citharode and shown how this characterization is repeated by Propertius (IV,6,69f.). Perhaps the martial Artemis was a deliberate reference to the continuing hostilities of the thirties (Naulochos) just as the Apollo was a reference to the end of civil strife (Actium).

[63] Other factors may also suggest an association between the archaistic Artemis and Agrippa or his family. The only other occurrence of the type is on a gold medallion struck in A.D. 2, the year of L.Caesar's death. Cesano 1934, 142-144, also connects this medallion with G. and L. Caesar. Beyen 1948, 14-22, has reasonably argued on historical grounds that the Farnesina house, on whose walls the Pompeii Artemis is depicted, was built by Agrippa himself.

[64] Not only do all the copies agree in size—slightly over a meter in height—but the painting in the Farnesina house represents a statue of similar scale.

[65] Zanker (1983) for the connection between the coin types and a monument on the Palatine see 31-32 and n.47. He identifies the archaistic Apollo as classicizing with fifth century models; the stiffness of its pose strikes me as more of an Archaic feature, although still quite possibly fifth century. Cf. Jucker 1982, 91-92. Jucker argues that all three Actiacus types are derived from an Apollo Actiacus statue which formed a part of the Tropaion set up at Nikopolis. The differences are the work of the die-cutter.

[66] For the Palatine Apollo complex, see, in addition to Zanker: G. Carrettoni, *JRS* 50 (1960) 202. idem, *RendPontAcc* 39 (1966-1967) 69-75. idem, *BdA* 58 (1973) 75. idem, *Das Haus des Augustus auf dem Palatin* (Mainz 1983) 7-11. Simon 1986, 19-25. That both Actium and Naulochos were involved in the cult is clear enough. The temple, the most opulent built by Augustus, was vowed in 36 B.C. before the battle of Naulochos and dedicated in 28 B.C. after the Actian triumph; it held cult statues of Leto and Artemis as well as of Apollo. These were the work of Kephisodotos, Timotheos, and Skopas, respectively, and thus were among the re-used Classical monuments known to have been located here. Myron's cattle provide another example; perhaps the bulls on the coins of Lugdunum were meant to be a reference to these "lifelike" statues, and thus they would be, like the

may well have been used to lend venerability to a newly created cult.

How replicas of this Artemis type came to be set up in domestic contexts in a Tuscan villa and a Pompeiian house is a mystery. Since the Pompeii statue was found in a shrine, it retained some cultic significance; although the shrine dates from the final period of occupation at Pompeii, the statue itself could well have been a family relic from the Augustan era, or it could be a Flavian copy. The villa in which the Florence replica was found is dated to the second century A.C., thus the use of the type in a domestic context continued well after A.D. 79.[67] A possible parallel could exist in a small statue of Apollo with certain archaizing features which was found in the house of Menander at Pompeii.[68] Simon points out how this "domestic" Apollo, which originates with the household gods of Augustus, has appropriately laid down his weapons. If the Pompeii Artemis type is to be viewed as a similar creation, it is quite possible that there were, in fact, two versions. The Artemis "Siciliensis" original on the Palatine would in this case be the Artemis drawing from her quiver as depicted on the coins. The Artemis who instead clutches her skirt in her right hand would them represent a peaceful adaptation more suited for a household deity.[69] Perhaps it too reflects a domestic deity of the emperor

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Apollo and Artemis figures, allusions to this particular sanctuary. Classicizing creations must also have been included. Zanker (1983, 27-31) has plausibly identified the Herculaneum "dancers" as copies of those Danaids which decorated the homonymous portico here. A taste for the Archaic is demonstrated in a variety of ways. Pliny (N.H. 36.13) tells us that the roof of the Palatine temple held works by the Chiot sculptors Boupalos and Athenis, who he places in the Archaic period (60th Olympiad = 540-537 B.C.). It has been argued that these works were, in fact, archaistic, but in any case at least some of the architectural sculpture must have *looked* old. Cf. Heidenreich 1935, 690. For the re-use of Archaic sculpture by Augustus on the Palatine and elsewhere, see now Zanker 1987, 242-244. From the excavations around the temple come examples of Campana plaques in archaistic style: Carrettoni, *BdA* 58 (1973) 75-87. Simon 1986, 127-130. Although these do not come from the marble temple itself, they should come from some structure very close to it, since the fragments were found in close proximity to the temple podium and nowhere else. The very use of terracotta revetments may also have been seen as a kind of archaistic reference to the *mos maiorum*, especially when juxtaposed against the luxurious marble temple with its ivory doors.

[67] If the original remained prominently displayed, replicas could have been made at any time during the Empire. Its occurrence in the second century A.C. may reflect a renewed interest in Augustan images attested also on Antonine coinage. Cf. the restoration issues of Apollo Palatinus and Apollo Actiacus discussed by Zanker 1983, n.47. These were minted under Antoninus Pius and Commodus. The Artemis type was not revived after Augustan times.

[68] This Apollo clearly has nothing to do with any of the Apollo types discussed above, since it is a nude figure which displays features of Early Classical Apollo types as well as Archaic kouroi. The general type is discussed below ch.7, p.1, n.5. See also Simon 1986, 116-117 fig. 154. For this statue and the *Phoebus domesticus* types see also *LIMC* II (1984) s.v. "Apollon/Apollo" 371, no.26 (E. Simon).

[69] Some stylistic features support this possibility. The skirt-holding gesture of the Pompeii Artemis is not well integrated into the type. It is a common enough Archaic as

which later came to be imitated in houses of the wealthy. It is possible that in the case of both Apollo and Artemis the choice of an archaistic image with Augustan connections was dictated by a desire to underline the remoteness of the Augustan principate, its status in Flavian and later times as a "golden age," and the antiquity (real or purported) of its favored cults.

B. Diana of Trastevere (Fig. 15)

The identification of the statue as Diana is based on the attribute held in the left hand—probably a tiny stag. Already recognized by Smith as archaistic, the statue was classified by Bulle as an early Imperial creation on the basis of its mixture of archaistic and classicizing features. The classicism is apparent in the head. The hairstyle is a somewaht schematized version of the mid-fifth century *Wellenfrisur*, while the diadem is similar to that found on a Julio-Claudian archaistic type.[70] The face with its broad oval outline, simple smooth surfaces, abrupt transition from frontal to side planes, and heavy features imitates the style of ca. 450 B.C.[71] The sharply triangular shape of the forehead, however, reminds us that the head is more likely classicizing rather than a copy of an early Classical original.

The long diagonal mantle with overfold worn over a long chiton is, of course, one of the most common archaistic schemes of Hellenistic times. The arrangement here, wherein the overfold roughly imitates the form of an Archaic Ionic himation, is frequently found on Roman archaistic statues. Other illogical features in the rendering here include the impossibly ruffled diagonal border and the treatment of the mantle's open right side as though it were closed.[72] The archaistic wrapped himation is found elsewhere worn by female figures over a chiton in both relief sculpture and

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well as archaistic mannerism, but it is elsewhere used to create a very decorative pattern of folds which loop from hand to leg. On the Pompeii Artemis, the hand is held very close to the thigh, the chiton simply clings to the leg, and there are no looping folds. Moreover, in Archaic and most archaistic figures the skirt is pulled to the side of the advanced leg, which is a logical action. The one exception, the Tyche of Munich type (4II) is also an archaistic adaptation of a different kind of figure and in this type the mannerisim *is* integrated into the figure through the inclusion of an elaborate pattern of catenaries. It is as though the adaptor needed something to do with the right hand and simply chose the most available archaistic gesture. This is a feature of Neo-Attic art. cf. the Athena and Artemis on the Athens-Delos four gods relief type: supra p.10.

70 Discussed by Herdejürgen 1968, e.g. pl.66b.

71 As recognized already by Bulle p.15.

72 A broad pleat falls from under the armpit to a swallowtail impossibly linking the long zig-zag edged sections of hanging drapery in front and back.

sculpture in the round.[73] Nowhere else to my knowledge is the long diagonal mantle combined with the wrapped mantle on an archaistic figure. While an approximate parallel from the Archaic period can be cited, the purely archaistic renderings displayed by the Diana make it difficult to imagine any direct influence from an Archaic statue.[74]

Several elements of style recall Hellenistic work. The somewhat loose and naturalistic treatment of the ruffled diagonal border resembles certain Rhodian works;[75] a good Rhodian parallel from the Roman era is provided by the archaistic Palladion from Sperlonga.[76] Likewise, the skirt of the diagonal mantle has a Hellenistic appearance.[77] The reliance on Severe forms on the head recalls Neo-Attic sculpture of the latest Hellenistic period, e.g. the so-called Pasitelean works. The diadem, on the other hand, finds its parallels on Julio-Claudian heads. Hellenistic styles, of course, persisted well into Roman times, especially in the Greek-speaking regions of the Empire.[78] On the analogy with Sperlonga, it seems very likely that this is an early Imperial creation by an East Greek-trained sculptor working in Rome, roughly contemporary with the sculptures from Tiberius' grotto.

Catalogue

I. Artemis-Hekate/Diana Nemorensis Types

A. Ephesos-Lepcis Type

1. Selcuk Museum no. 2165 FIG 2

White Asiatic Marble H: 0.82 m.

Draped female standing with legs held tightly together, holds an object (flower?) in its left hand and turns its head 3/4 to (proper) left. Garment is ostensibly a peplos with overfold worn over a chiton. Quiver on plinth. Excavated 1969 at Ephesos. R. Fleischer, *ÖJh* 50 (1972-1975) Beiblatt 450, ill.29. Paribeni 1981, 42-45, fig.8.

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[73] E.g. on the famous Kallimachos relief of the first century B.C.:supra p.10. In statuary it is worn by the Tyche of Munich (4II). The Tyche and one figure on the relief differ from the Diana in pulling the skirt to one side.

[74] Athens, Akr. 615. Richter 1968, no.125, figs. 401-404.

[75] Cf. Fullerton 1987, 263-264.

[76] Treated below, 3IIB2.

[77] Cf. on Artemis type IC above.

[78] Cf. Fullerton 1987, 269-272.

2. Tripolis (Libya) Museum FIG 3

Marble. PH: 0.45 m.

Fragment of statue of the same type and scale as IA1 above. Preserves torso from neck to knees. Lacking are the right forearm and hand, left forearm and hand, and a section of drapery along the left side. From second century A.C. baths at Lepcis Magna. Bartoccini 1929, 149-150, figs. 157-158. Manderscheid 1981, 107, no.322. Paribeni 1981, 43-4, no.3.

B. Copenhagen Type

1. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek I.N. 443

Marble. PH: 0.67 m.

Peplophoros standing with right leg slightly advanced and pulling skirt to one side with its left hand. Peplos is belted under a long overfold and is worn over a sleeved chiton. Right lower leg, both feet, and plinth are restored, as are parts of the nose, chin, and brow of the archaizing head, which, according to Poulsen, goes with the body. Poulsen 1937, 30 n.8. F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of the Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek* (Copenhagen 1951) 54, no.39, pl.3. Paribeni 1981, 43, no.1.

2. Catania, Museo Biscari No.5

White Marble. PH: 0.58 m.

Torso of statue of the same type as IB1 above, preserved from neckline to just above the knees. Both forearms with hands are broken away. G. Libertini, *Il Museo Biscari* (Rome 1930) 5, no.5, pl.4. Poulsen 1937, 30 n.8. Paribeni 1981, 43, no.2.

3. Vatican Museums, Galleria dei Candelabri no.1 FIG 4

Italian Marble. PH: 0.77 m.

Torso of this type, heavily restored following the Copenhagen piece (IB1). Head is ancient, but does not go with the body. Only the upper part of the torso, the left shoulder, and the upper left arm to the level of the elbow are original. Lippold, *VatKat* III^2 153-154, no.1. Paribeni 1981, 43, no.5.

4. Rome, Museo Barracco no. 89

White (Pietrangeli: Pentelic) Marble. PH: 0.77 m.

Fragment preserving torso of a similar peplophoros. The surface is almost entirely eroded from present outdoor display. No features are clearly discernible. C. Pietrangeli, *Museo Barracco* (Rome 1960) 64, no.89.

5. Kurashiki, Ninagawa Museum no.169

Marble. PH: 0.90 m.
Variant of type with long diagonal mantle wrapped over left shoulder instead of peplos. Head is broken off; right arm, once separately attached, is missing. Pose, arrangement of drapery over legs, and lower part of overfold are all similar to type in question. Substitution of diagonal mantle results in much simpler fold pattern in overfold. E. Simon, *The Kurashiki Ninagawa Museum* (Mainz 1982) 247-249, no.169.
Paribeni lists a sixth member of this group as formerly in the Rome Art Market, illustrated NegInstRom B1156.

C. Sciarra Type

1. Port Sunlight, Lady Lever Art Gallery no.19 (X2167) FIG 5

Grey Marble. PH: 0.23 m.
Archaistic draped female standing with left leg slightly advanced. Figure wears a peplos belted under a long overfold and a sleeved chiton. Overfold falls in two very exaggerated zig-zag patterns. Restorations: both forearms and hands with attributes, parts of feet, nose, lips, and chin. Formerly Hope Collection. Michaelis 1882, 289, Deepdene no.32. Vermeule and von Bothmer 1959, 342, pl.81.26. Herdejürgen 1968, 77, n.475. Waywell 1986, 20-21, no.4.

2. Liverpool, City Art Museum

Carrara Marble. PH: 0.69 m.
Statue differs from IC1 above in that the chiton does not show above the feet below the peplos and the style is less stiff and schematic, overall. Head (of Tyche of Munich type, see below 4IIA) is an incorrect restoration. Other restorations: both forearms and hands, right breast, left shoulder, both legs from knees down and plinth. Formerly Ince Blundell Hall no.517. Ashmole 1929, 35, no.82, pl.1. Herdejürgen 1968, 77, n.475.

3. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria Acc.no. 1045.4

Marble. PH: 1.485 m.
Similar kore restored with archaistic head that does not go with the body (Herdejürgen). Both forearms, front of left foot and ends of right toes are missing. Formerly Sciarra Collection. Presented 1951. A. Trendall, *Quarterly Bulletin of the Gallery of Victoria* VIII, no.4 (1954) 3. Herdejürgen 1968, 77, n.476. P. Connor, *Roman Art in the National Gallery of Victoria* (1978) 31-33. Paribeni 1981, 42-45, fig.7.

4. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum S5s41 FIG 6

Pentelic (Vermeule) Marble. PH.0.76 m.

Torso of similar statue which is preserved from neckline to just above knees. Head, once inset into cavity in neck, is missing. Both forearms and hands are broken off. Vermeule 1977, 11, no.13.

5. Bronzes

a) Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks no.16

H: 0.19 m. Statuette similar in type.

Archaistic head has two rows of snail-shell curls over forehead and two locks over each shoulder. Figure holds flower in right hand and pomegranate in left. G. Richter, *Greek and Roman Antiquities at Dumbarton Oaks* (1956) 39-32, no.16, pl.12. Herdejürgen 1968, 77, n.475.

b) Vienna, Kunsthistorische Museum

H: 0.20 m.

Bronze statuette differs from a) above in lacking shoulder locks. Missing are attributes (although position of hands is identical to that of a) and front sections of both feet. E. von Sacken, *Die antike Bronzen in Wien* (Vienna 1871) pl.17.1. Herdejürgen 1968, 77, n.475.

c) Kassel, Museum no. 123

H: 0.125 m.

Statuette of same type, here used as a support, since a fragment of the object supported remains atop the head. Arms are in same position as those of a and b above, but hands are broken off. M. Bieber, *Antiken Skulpturen und Bronzen in Kassel* (Kassel 1915) 54, no.123, pl.39. Herdejürgen 1968, 77, n.475.

d) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale no. 736 FIG 7

Statuette of same type. Although actual rendering of drapery is less stiffly archaistic, pose, garment arrangement, hairstyle, and archaistic face are the same as on a) above. This statuette also preserves attributes of flower and pomegranate. Section broken away from area of right knee. Babelon and Blanchet 1895, 323-324, no. 736. Herdejürgen 1968, 77, n.475. Langlotz 1975, 127, n.52, pl.40.4.8.

D. Variant of Sciarra Type with Diagonal Mantle

1. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung no.580 FIG 8

White Marble. PH: 1.38 m.

Kore of type similar to Sciarra type above, except that the outer garment is fastened at the left shoulder only, forming a long diagonal mantle with overfold. Diagonal border is decorated with a zig-zag pattern. Restorations: head, both forearms with attributes of Isis, left foot, patches of drapery. Formerly Vescovali Collection. Found in Rome. *Königliche Museen zu Berlin*, *Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen* (Berlin 1891) 222, n.580.

2. York, City Art Gallery no.556-1948

Island (Vermeule & von Bothmer) Marble. PH: 0.90 m.

Variant of type ID4 above, somewhat less rigid in its archaism. Stands with right foot advanced, pulls skirt to side with left hand. Restorations: head, arms, part of plinth. Vermeule and von Bothmer 1959, 348, pl.81.27.

3. Rome, Museo Torlonia no.481 FIG 9

Greek (Visconti) Marble. PH: 0.93 m.

Statue is essentially identical to no.IA2 above. Restorations (head, forearms) are slightly different. C. Visconti, *I monumenti del Museo Torlonia* (Rome 1885) 348-349, no.481.

II. Other Archaistic Artemis Types

A. Pompeii Type

1. Naples, Museo Nazionale no.6008 FIG 10

Carrara Marble. H:1.08 m.

Striding archaistic Artemis wearing a long chiton and a mantle folded nearly double and fastened at both shoulders. Over these garments she wears a quiver, and on her head is a diadem decorated with rosettes. The statue is essentially complete, missing only the attribute she once held in her left hand. Found at Pompeii in 1760 (See Richardson, below). F. Studniczka, *RömMitt* 3 (1888) 277-302 (w/previous bibliography). P. Wolters, *AthMitt* 14 (1889) 133-134. Ruesch 1908, 31, no.106, fig.8. *BrBr* 356. C. Anti, *ASAtene* (1916) 181-196. B. Pace, *MemAccLinc* 15 (1917) 521. Bulle 1918, 11, no.10a. C. Anti, *BdA* 14 (1920) 73-83. Lippold 1950, 387, pl.134.4. Giuliano 1953, 48-54. A. deFranciscis, *Il Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Naples 1963) fig.63. Harrison 1965, 57, 75. Richter 1970, 140,

fig.557. L. Richardson, *AJA* 74 (1970) 202. Pollitt 1986, 184, fig.194. LIMC II (1984) s.v. "Artemis" p. 640 no. 185 (L. Kahil), s.v. "Artemis/Diana" p.800, no.11 (E. Simon) w/further bibliography. Zanker 1987, 244, fig.189.

2. Venice, Museo Archeologico inv. no. 59 FIG 11

Italian Marble. PH: 1.05 m.

Statue similar to no. IIA1 above, on the basis of which the head, neck, arms, and left foot of this piece were restored. Dütschke 1874-1882, V 122, no.309. C. Anti, *Il Museo Archeologico nel Palazzo Reale di Venezia* (Rome 1930) III, 1. G. Traversari, *La statuaria ellenistica del Museo Archeologico di Venezia* (*Coll. e Mus. Arch. del Veneto, 30*) (Rome 1986) 166-168, no.57.

3. Florence, Museo Archeologico inv. no. 10701 FIG 12

Carrara Marble. PH: 0.90 m.

Statue of similar type. Head, arms, and parts of the feet are broken away. Found, 1880, in a Roman Villa at Castiglione della Pescaia. L. Milani, *Studi e materiali di archeologia e numismatica* I (1899) 119-124, pl.3. idem, *Il Regio Museo Archeologico di Firenze* (Florence 1912) 261.

4. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts No.99.338

Greek (Comstock and Vermeule) Marble PH: 0.355 m.

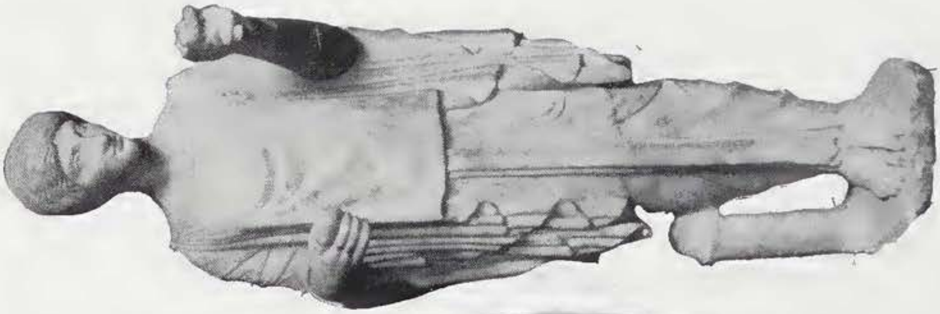
Not an exact replica of the head of the Naples Artemis, but this piece is similar enough to be from a closely related statue. It displays similar archaistic facial features, hairstyle, rosette diadem, and forward lean. It lacks shoulder locks. The end of the section of hair pulled together in back is broken away. Acquired in Italy by E.P. Warren. Comstock and Vermeule 1976, 137-138, no.215. LIMC II (1984) 685-6, no.865.

B. Diana of Trastevere

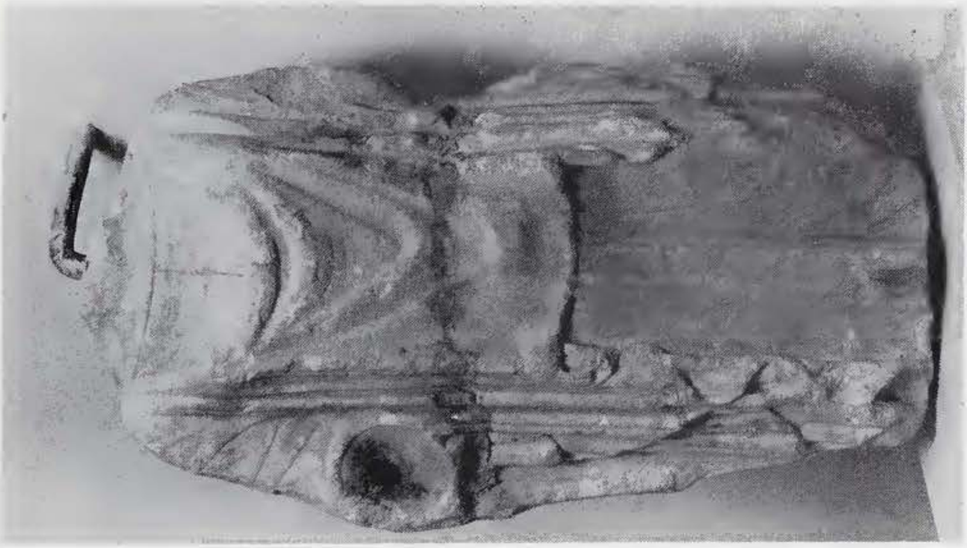
1. London, British Museum Sc1560 FIG 15

White Marble. H: 1.78 m.

Female figure which stands with left leg slightly advanced and wears chiton, long diagonal himation with overfold fastened at right shoulder, and a mantle wrapped back over the left shoulder. A lotus-palmette diadem is worn atop the classicizing head. A tiny animal (stag?) is held in the left hand. Right forearm with hand is missing. Two fingers of the left hand, head and forelegs of the animal are broken away. Found in Trastevere, 1887. Smith 1892-1904, 21-22, no.1560, pl.2. Bulle 1918, 14-15, no.26a, LIMC II (1984) 665, no.562. pl.3.



1. Denarius of P. Accoleius Lariscolus (43 B.C.) - [Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society, New York]
2. Selçuk Museum no.2165—Statue of Artemis, Cat. 2IA1—[Author, reproduced courtesy of the Ephesos Museum, Selçuk]



3. Tripolis Museum—Statue of Artemis (?), Cat. 2IA2—[Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom 61-1816]
4. Vatican, Galleria dei Candelabri no.1—Statue of Artemis (?), Cat. 2IB3—[Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom 41-967]

5. Port Sunlight, Lady Lever Art Gallery no.19 (X2167)—Statue of Artemis (?), Cat. 2IC1—[Courtesy of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight]
6. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum no.S5s41—Statue of Artemis (?), Cat. 2IC4—[Courtesy of Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston]

7. Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. no.1115—Bronze Statuette of Artemis (?), Cat. 2IC5b—[Courtesy of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung, Vienna]
8. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung no.580—Statue of Artemis (?), Cat. 2ID2—[Courtesy of the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin]

9. Rome, Museo Torlonia no.481—Statue of Artemis (?), Cat. 2ID2—[Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom 35-83]

10. Naples, Museo Nazionale no.6008—Statue of Artemis, Cat. 2IIA1—[Alinari 11060]

11. Venice, Museo Archeologico inv.no.59—Statue of Artemis, Cat. 2IIA2—[Courtesy, Soprintendanza Archeologica per il Veneto]
12. Florence, Museo Archeologico inv.no.10701—Statue of Artemis, Cat. 2IIA3—[Courtesy, Soprintendenza Archeologica della Toscana/Gabinetto fotographico]

13. Denarius of Augustus with Artemis reverse, Lugdunum Mint (11-9 B.C.)—[Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society, New York]

14. Denarius of Augustus with Apollo reverse, Lugdunum Mint (11-9 B.C.)—[Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society, New York]

15. London, British Museum Sc1560—Statue of Artemis, "Diana of Trastevere," Cat. 2IIB1—[Courtesy, Trustees of the British Museum]

CHAPTER THREE

ATHENA / MINERVA

We have seen that the tradition for archaistic representations of Artemis can be traced back to the later fifth century B.C. Of all other deities, only Athena seems to have been archaized as early. Indeed already in the late Archaic period there occur in vase-painting cult images of Athena which are rendered in an earlier Archaic style in order that they might appear more ancient than the figures surrounding them.[1] Since these are Archaic in form and Archaic in date, they are not, strictly speaking, archaistic in the sense in which term is used in this study, although they do reflect already at an early date the existence of a self-consciously retrospective mentality.[2] The first truly archaistic representations of Athena occur at about the same time as the first archaistic Hekate figures, during the last quarter of the fifth century B.C.

The two general types of archaistic Athena representations—promachos and palladion—describe poses which were already common in Archaic times,[3] and both types find archaistic expression at about the same time. The former refers to a figure which strides forward—usually with the left leg advanced, brandishes a spear in the right hand, and holds out a shield (or aegis functioning as a shield) in the left. It faces and aims the spear in the direction of its motion, so that the overall composition is often nearly two-dimensional. ''Palladion'' refers to a more static figure which stands with its legs together, or nearly so; generally it will also hold up a spear in the right hand and shield in the left, but its orientation is essentially frontal. The terms are used here only to describe a general pose and should not be taken too literally; the most famous Promachos—Pheidias' colossal bronze on the Akropolis of Athens—was a standing, not a striding figure, and representations of the Palladion of Ilion sometimes show a figure we would call a promachos.[4] Since the terms have become conventional indications of these two poses and succeed in eliciting certain mental images, their use is continued here.

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[1] See below on the Vivenzio hydria pp.57-58.

[2] For this phenomenon in Early Classical times, see Pollitt 1971, 60-63. Ridgway 1977, 307-313.

[3] Niemeyer 1960, 15. Herdejürgen 1969. Willers 1975, 59. LIMC II (1984) promachos: 969-977, palladion: 965-969. Schürmann 1985, palladion: 17-47, promachos: 71-76.

[4] For the Pheidian Promachos: Ridgway 1981, 169 w/previous bibliography, p.189. For Palladia in ''promachos'' pose, see below p.58.

I. Promachos Types

Archaic images of Athena in the promachos pose occur in several media, but the archaistic images earlier than the Roman era seem to be limited to works that are essentially two-dimensional.[5] Although some such figures might be considered stylistically transitional between the Archaic and the Classical,[6] the first truly archaistic Athena images are found on Athenian vases of the late fifth century B.C., both red-figure and black-figure.[7] From the latter evolve the famous archaistic Athenas of Late Classical and Hellenistic Panathenaic amphorae, and the type is taken up on several coinages of Hellenistic kings beginning with Ptolemy I Soter.[8] Despite the variety among these Classical and Hellenistic archaistic promachoi, there are a number of fundamental features which they share. In addition to the pose, these figures all wear the archaistic peplos with overfold, and they generally have a vertical central axis marked by a pleat in the overfold and/or skirt of the peplos. In this they resemble the contemporary archaistic Hekate and Artemis-Hekate figures. However, in most cases these Athenas also wear the archaistic wrapped "swallowtail" mantle, a feature not shared with Artemis or Hekate. Although there may have been archaistic sculptural images of Athena created in the Hellenistic period, none are known which could be described as Promachos.[9] It seems then to have been left to the Romans to commission the first statues of Athena in this warlike aspect. Although it has been argued that such sculptures existed as early as the fifth century B.C., the argument is, in each case, based on a presumed prototype for the extant Roman copies. These types must be treated individually.

A. The Herculaneum Pallas Type

There existed at least one and possibly two Athenian examples of this statue type in addition to the famous, nearly intact statue from the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum (Fig.16).[10] While it is not clear whether

[5] Archaic examples include:images on Panathenaic amphorae, the Athena from the Peisistratid pediment, and the figure from the Gigantomachy frieze of the Siphnian Treasury. Panathenaics: Beazley 1986, 81-92 w/current bibliography. Peisistratid Athena: LIMC II (1984) 970, no.125. Athena on Siphnian Treasury: Ridgway 1977, fig.63.

[6] E.g., the bronze statuette dedicated by Meleso on the Akropolis of Athens or the Athena killing a Giant on a metope from Temple E at Selinus. Statuette: Akr. Mus. no. 6447. Niemeyer 1964, 21-22, pl.11. Metope: LIMC II (1984) 991, no.393 w/bibliography.

[7] Fullerton 1989, 63-64. Supra pp.2-3 n.11, 7 n.34.

[8] These are the subject of Havelock 1980.

[9] See on the Chigi-Munich Athena type (IIIA).

[10] The date for this statue type has been argued on the basis of style in some detail else-

one of the fragmentary marble statues in Athens or a lost bronze was the prototype,[11] it is likely that the Herculaneum piece is a replica of an Athenian original.[12]

Since the recognition of this type as an archaistic creation early in the twentieth century, there have emerged three schools of thought concerning its date.[13] First Bulle and most recently Bruskari have seen the type as best fitting in the high Classical period, while Schmidt, Becatti, Pandermalis, and others have assessed the type as Roman. Harrison, followed by Pollitt, argued that the Agora head fragment (Fig.17) (IA2) comes from an original dating to the Hellenistic period. That the type is in fact Roman in date can be determined on a number of grounds. Virtually every part of the statue—hairstyle, face, pose, chiton, himation—can be shown to be a subtle blending of stylistic features characteristic of a number of eras, including Archaic, Early Classical, High Classical, Late Classical, and Hellenistic. This in itself would preclude a Classical date. Such an eclectic approach, moreover, finds its best parallel in Roman works of the first century B.C.—e.g. those of the so-called Pasitelean school—rather than in Hellenistic creations. Archaistic works datable to Classical and Hellenistic times are very different from the Herculaneum Pallas type, while many of the latter's features can be closely paralleled in Roman archaistic statuary.[14] In general, these Roman works differ from earlier examples in that they include certain genuine (if often misunderstood) Archaic and Classical forms together with archaistic renderings, while earlier archaistic works are less directly imitative and seem to follow a development more or less internal to the style.[15]

The Herculaneum Pallas type, together with the Pompeii Artemis, provides ample documentation of an often neglected phenomenon—the

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where; cf. Fullerton 1989. Here I limit comments to a summary of the arguments presented there and some questions not considered in that article.

[11] The rendering of the helmet could be interpreted as an argument in favor of a bronze original. The griffins depicted in relief on the Herculaneum statue could have been portrayed completely in the round on a bronze original, as were the Parthenos' Pegasoi. However, since the Athens statue(s) stood on the Akropolis, one wonders where the original might have stood. In any case, there is no reason that the griffins of the original might not have been worked in the round even in stone. Extant fragments in Athens do not preserve this section of the figure.

[12] If for no other reason, because the pieces in Athens are of such high quality. Also note the particular Athenian associations of the type.

[13] Waldstein classified the statue not as archaistic, but as a pastiche of an Archaic body with a Classical head.

[14] For all these features and detailed argumentation, see Fullerton 1989.

[15] On these earlier works, cf. supra pp.6-11. Fullerton 1987, 272. Genuinely Archaic features of the Herculaneum Pallas type not found in earlier archaistic work include the three-pleat arrangement of the chiton skirt and the shape (if not the type) of the short diagonal mantle, while the chiton sleeves are close to true High Classical renderings.

copying in Roman times of originals which are themselves Roman creations. Moreover it is more than likely that the Herculaneum replica is close in date to the original itself. The Athena from Herculaneum, also like the Artemis from Pompeii, originally stood in a private dwelling, although unlike that statue, it was not obviously displayed as a cult image.[16] Since it formed a part of the most completely known private sculptural display of the ancient Roman world, and since the original location of the statue within this complex can be reliably reconstructed, we could hope to gain some further understanding of its significance from its context.[17] However, some problems intervene.

First, one can infer little from either the statue's architectural or its sculptural context. It was set up between the two *in antis* columns of the "pseudo-tablinum" which connected the inner square peristyle with the outer long peristyle ("gymnasium").[18] Since the figure was readily visible not only within the "pseudo-tablinum"itself, but also from both the square and rectanguar peristyles, it cannot be "read" explicitly in conjunction with the sculptural array in any one of these three units. On the contrary, one could conclude that it was deliberately placed so as to be incorporated into all three. In its entirety, the sculptural decoration of this villa displays an astounding variety of subjects and styles, ranging from the archaistic, classicizing, and copies of the Classical to the latest in Hellenistic taste. Within the latter one finds such unlikely companions as portraits of Hellenistic rulers, statesmen, and philosophers together with apparently frivolous Bacchic subjects such as tipsy satyrs. The common themes which have been recognized in the program, in addition to a strong and obvious tendency to philhellenic tastes, involve the interweaving of opposing yet complementary Republican concepts of *otium* and *negotium*.[19] Our Athena, perhaps together with the hermaic portraits in the "pseudo-tablinum", would be read as a manifestation of the latter, but given the long civic tradition for the archaistic Athena promachos in Athens (as later in certain Hellenistic kingdoms), this message is intrinsic

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[16] Although Sgobbo has described its position as shrine-like and connected with the cult of Minerva Quinquatria.

[17] For the sculptural display in the Villa: Wojcik 1986. See also the bibliographic summary: V. Kockel, *AA*, 1986, 530-532. Pandermalis gives the most complete catalogue of the statuary found there and a very useful diagram of the Villa with illustrations of the sculptures indicating their findspots.

[18] Only Sgobbo has seen any significance in this particular manner of display, likening it to a distyle *in antis* temple. However, if the Athena were to be viewed as a cult statue in such a structure, it should have been set up at the back of the room, not between its columns.

[19] Zanker 1987, 35-41. Wojcik 1986, 259-284. Wojcik 1979, 365; see also on page 367 for the counterpositioning of "cultura" and "natura."

to the statue. That is, the statue by itself aids in reading the sculptural program more than the program explains the statue. Possibly the most important fact we can note about the positioning of the Athena in the Villa is simply its conspicuousness.

The situation is similar for the second problem, that of ownership. If indeed we knew who owned the Villa, we might come closer to understanding how replicas of the type came to be set up in Athens and Herculaneum at approximately the same time. However, arguments which purport to establish ownership are based on circumstantial evidence. The Villa was longed believed to have belonged to L. Calpurnius Piso, patron of the somewhat obscure Epicurean philosopher Philodemos, whose writings form a large portion of the eponymous papyri found there. There is a good chance that only a part of the libarary was recovered, which would skew the evidence; present investigations of the structure may change the picture considerably. The more recent suggestion that the owner was Appius Claudius Pulcher (cos. 54 B.C.) is based on an evaluation of the sculptural program itself, so to pursue that avenue would both be speculative and hold the danger of circular reasoning.[20] Again, the statue as a tangible piece of evidence may be more elucidating concerning the Villa's ownership than the personality of the owner is a clue to interpreting the statue.

One plausible suggestion might be offered which would be appropriate for both of these distinguished Roman statesmen as for a large number of other figures who lived in the second half of the first century B.C., which is the most likely date for the statue type based solely on its style. A Roman who served in Greece in some capacity may have been honored for some beneficence by the erection on the Akropolis of Athens of a statue of Athena. An archaistic promachos was chosen since it had traditionally been an emblem of the glory and favor of the city of Athens.[21] The statue was not simply a translation into statuary from the strictly two-dimensional tradition, but an original transformation of the traditional type into an eclectic form characteristic of Neo-Attic works of the first century B.C. The Roman so honored chose, not surprisingly, to erect a replica in a prominent location in his Herculaneum domicile as a lasting reminder of the achievements of his public life and the most conspicuous display of his *otium* to be found in the Villa. Whether the person in question was Piso, Claudius Pulcher, or some other powerful Roman is a question which must remain open at least until the Villa's exploration is complete.[22]

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[20] For the recent theories, see Wojcik 1986, 272-284, and also Wojcik 1979.

[21] For this see especially on the use of the image in Hellenistic coinage: Havelock 1980.

[22] For the connections between these two, their families, and Athens see: Fullerton 1989, p.67 n.52.

B. The Dresden Athena

The bronzes in London (Fig.20) and Vienna indicate that the statue in Dresden (Figs.18-19) is probably not a unique creation but rather corresponds to a statue type.[23] Of the two, the British Museum piece is more useful for the reconstruction of the type since it is both the better preserved and closer in form to the marble statue. The Dresden and London Athenas are similar in pose and garment type, and both display the same peculiar rendering of the lower edge of the overfold. The only notable difference between the two is the absence of a metopal strip on the bronze, which may have been necessitated by its small size. One may then with some assurance reconstruct certain features not preserved on the marble by analogy with the bronze: the position of the feet, the right arm held aloft with spear, the left arm bearing a shield, and the Attic helmet with its crest in the form of a sphinx.[24] Clearly we are dealing with an Athena of the Promachos type.

What is most immediately striking about this type is its apparent similarity to genuine Archaic work, especially in contrast to the Herculaneum Athena treated above. The most obvious comparison is with the central Athena of the west pediment of the Temple of Aphaia at Aigina.[25] In addition to the very similar treatments of skirt drapery and aegis, the most significant similarity is to be seen in the treatment of the folds of the overfold. Such a system of three discrete pleats of equal length give the garment a squared-off look which is unusual in both Archaic and archaistic art. It seems to be a feature of very late Archaic and "subarchaic" works and a result of influence from early Severe peplophoroi.[26] The correspondence between the Archaic statue and archaistic statue type is close enough overall, and this particular drapery rendering is sufficiently rare in either stylistic context, that the similarity is probably the result of deliberate imitation.

Nonetheless, there are a number of differences between the Dresden and Aigina Athenas which can provide a clue to the date of the former. The most obvious difference is in garment type. Whereas the Aigina figure wears the Archaic chiton and Ionic himation combination, the

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[23] Schürmann (n.1032) cites a third statuette in this scheme. A representation of a very similar figure on a fragmentary clay tondo from El Djem (Schürmann 75 n.1024) strengthens the argument for a statuary type.

[24] Although neither spear or shield is preserved on the bronze, the positioning of its arms would indicate their pertinence unambiguously.

[25] This similarity has been noted by Bulle, Schmidt, Lippold, and Willers.

[26] Ridgway (1977,308-309) has pointed out that the system makes no sense on a short diagonal himation. She sees the Aigina Athena as archaistic in style even though Archaic in date.

Dresden statue wears a peplos with long overfold over a chiton, as indicated by the section of chiton skirt shown below the central pleat of the peplos and by the fact that the overgarment is fastened over both shoulders. Two snakes from the aegis in back are knotted in front in imitation of Classical Athena peplophoros types.[27] The drapery falling from the right forearm of the Aigina Athena is of course eliminated in the Dresden piece, but the latter retains illogically the long fall of drapery along its right flank. This latter is rendered in a manner reminiscent of the zig-zags along the open side of a Classical peplos, but the similarity is incomplete since the Dresden Athena's peplos seems to have no open side—its skirt is closed like that of an Archaic chiton. The creator of this type has obviously patched together Classical and Archaic features in a decorative if incongruous manner.

Another distinction between the two is in their poses. The Aigina figure stands with torso and head fully frontal, while its legs are twisted into a profile view. This typical Archaic scheme with an unrealistic pivot at the hips is generally characteristic of two-dimensional media like painting or relief sculpture. It must have been used here because of the central, frontal, and apparition-like nature of the goddess in this context. The Dresden figure shows a simpler striding pose with shoulders perpendicular to its direction of motion and gaze; this is more appropriate to a figure conceived in the round and has Archaic parallels in free-standing statuary, pedimental sculpture, and even high relief.[28] What the Dresden figure does not display is the characteristically early Classical "eloquent silhouette" imitated in the Herculaneum Pallas. The best parallels are genuine Archaic works.

The final point of dissimilarity involves what is perhaps the Dresden Athena's most unusual feature—the vertical strip of small "metopes" which decorated the central skirt pleat. Sculptural parallels for this phenomenon can be found only in Hellenistic and Roman works and are even at these times rare.[29] Since the strip occurs only on the marble statue, one can question whether it should be seen as a feature of the "type;" the answer depends on which stylistic assessment is favored. The possibilities are: 1) The Dresden statue, metopes and all, reproduces an archaistic original from the Early Classical period, ca. 470-460 B.C.[30] 2) The figure type is Early Classical archaistic, but the metopes were added

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[27] For example, the Athena Parthenos itself.

[28] Cf. the bronze statuettes collected by Niemeyer (supra p.45 n.3), the Athena from the Peisistratid pediment, and the Athena on the Siphnian treasury Gigantomachy frieze (supra p.46 n.5).

[29] This feature is most thoroughly discussed by Finn.

[30] Bulle 1918, 8-9.

by a Neo-Attic copyist.[31] a) The metopes are copied from some other Classical prototype. b) The metopes are themselves Neo-Attic creations. 3) The entire statue type, metopes and all, is a late, probably Roman, creation. The bronzes lack the strip because of their small size. The first and third possibilities, then, would allow the metopes to belong to the type whereas the second would not.

Finn has adequately shown that the compositions and figures of the metopes display features characteristic of Early, High, and Late Classical styles; such eclecticism would seem to rule out possiblities 1 and 2a. Of the remaining possiblities, 2b is the more commonly held.[32] The argument depends on the closeness of the type to works datable to the period of transition, notably the Archaic Aigina Athena and the post-Archaic bronze Athena dedicated by Meleso.[33] However, despite the artificiality and mannerism displayed by these works and characteristic of an era of stylistic metamorphosis, they both adhere to accepted and logical drapery arrangements easily paralleled on contemporary monuments. The former wears the proper Archaic dress, and the latter wears the long diagonal mantle with overfold, a garment found frequently in vase-painting of the transitional period.[34] As was shown above, the dress of the Dresden Athena results from such a complex combination and illogical contamination of Archaic, Early Classical, and High Classical features, that it can neither be understood as a creation of the Severe period nor dismissed as a simple pastiche.

Among archaistic sculptures, as we have seen, closeness to true Archaic form is more generally a late feature than an early one.[35] Classical and Hellenistic archaistic works tend to use Archaic linear patterning in ways distinct from the Archaic two-dimensional aesthetic whereas Roman archaistic works are repeatedly seen to follow entire Archaic schemes. There is even a parallel for the close imitation of Aiginetan architectural sculpture.[36] It seems then that the most straightforward assessment of the Dresden Athena type is the most likely, that the type; metopal strip and all, is a creation of late Hellenistic or Roman times in the Neo-Attic strain.

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[31] E.g., Finn.

[32] Schmidt seems to view the type as Roman, but does not elaborate as to whether it is more a pastiche or a creation in archaistic style. It is the type of statue which would fit Becatti's category of Roman "arcaizzante" creation, but he does not deal with this particular type explicitly.

[33] Most recently articulated by Willers (1975, 59-60).

[34] See for the appearance of this garment Herdejürgen 1968, 66-73. It was especially popular for the mannerist effects popular at the time.

[35] Supra p.47 n.15. Fullerton 1989, 64-65.

[36] Cf. the Spes Albani (5IB5) which is obviously derived from akroterial korai of the Aphaia temple.

Certain considerations would connect it with works of the first century B.C., but we cannot be sure that it was not created even later.[37]

C. *The Palermo Athena*

Although the statue in Palermo (Fig.21) and fragment in the Vatican (Fig.22) largely preserve different sections of the figure, there is sufficient correspondence both in detail and general style where overlap does exist to indicate a high probability that they represent one statue type. The length and form of aegis in back is precisely the same; they show the same type of central pleat between the legs, the same pattern of long straight pleats flanking the central pleat, and the same thin curving folds over the left thigh. The end of hanging drapery on the Vatican piece is consistent in pattern and style with the upper part of this same feature on the Palermo statue. The Vatican fragment would seem to come from the superior work. It is fully finished in back whereas the Palermo statue is only roughed out, and it displays a more skillfull suggestion of the anatomy under the drapery, especially noticeable in the rendering of the left knee.

Like many archaistic statues the Palermo piece was early on mistaken for a copy of an Archaic work.[38] Bulle recognized its archaistic features but believed it to copy a Classical original of ca. 450 B.C.[39] Others have recognized the statue as a Roman archaistic creation, but emphasize

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[37] The very fact that there was a Greek model of sorts speaks strongly in favor of a connection to those works loosely grouped as Neo-Attic. Finn has pointed out the metopal strip as possibly a Hellenistic feature. As he also points out, the use of a gigantomachy may also have been intended as a kind of archaistic reference to that embroidered on the peplos of the Polias, although that one was different in form. The pose of the Dresden type is generally similar to that of the Neo-Attic Chigi-Munich Athena. Its loosely waving shoulder locks resemble those of the Herculaneum Pallas; with this statue is also shared a somewhat similar form of gorgoneion, although that of the Dresden type is more Hellenistic looking with a more grotesque face and a melon-coiffure instead of the Classicizing forms seen on that of the Naples statue. Neo-Attic work of course can date from any Imperial epoch. Schürmann's Claudian date for the prototype, which is based on the first appearance of the archaistic promachos on Roman coins, is certainly possible. The coin type in question is of course Hellenistic in origin and only generally related to the Dresden Athena type. The association of the Hellenistic type with the Athena Alkidemos, accepted by Schürmann, is far less likely than its derivation from the Panathenaic Athena; cf. supra p.3 and especially Havelock 1980, 42. One can further note that the figure on the El Djem tondo (Schurmann pl.8a) also has a metopal strip on its central skirt pleat. If this does in fact derive from the Dresden Athena type (there are distinct differences, especially in the rendering of the overfold), it would give further evidence that the metopes were part of an archaistic original.

[38] By Arndt in EA.

[39] He is followed in this by Lippold (see under IC2), who first noted the connection between the Palermo and Vatican piece. Lippold believed the original to have been bronze.

different features.[40] Bonacasa-Carrà emphasizes the closeness of the type to true Archaic work and in fact suggests that the Vatican fragment could come from a copy of an Archaic Athena. Willers noted that the statue is slenderer than even Classical works and thus could not be earlier than the Hellenistic period.

Comparison with other archaistic works shows first of all how dissimilar the statue is in pose and garment from Hellenistic work although there are some similarities with the two late Hellenistic/early Roman Athenas discussed above. Its pose is intermediate between the very two-dimensional Herculaneum Athena and more naturally striding Dresden Athena; its foot position is very close to that of the latter. Although it lacks a gorgoneion and snaky belt, the form of aegis is similar to that of the Dresden Athena. The full chiton sleeve displays some of the Classicism of those on the Herculaneum statue, although it is even more freely rendered. The type of garment—long diagonal mantle with overfold worn over a thin chiton—repeats a common archaistic scheme; the long overgarment, the central pleat arrangement, and the Archaic closed skirt is a feature of the Dresden type, whereas the overfold more closely resembles the short diagonal mantle of the Herculaneum type.

Overall, the Palermo Athena more closely resembles Archaic work than either of the other two Athena types considered thus far. Especially the form of the overfold with its very long section of zig-zag drapery hanging at the right side, a single central pleat, and the simple inverted V pattern of its lower edge recalls the most common arrangement found on late Archaic korai. Also reminiscent of Archaic practice is the skirt drapery which clings smoothly to the leg, outlines it with only a few simple folds, and allows anatomical details of knee and shin to show through clearly.[41] Even closer to the Palermo type than Archaic work, however, is a group of archaistic korai which are so close to Archaic forms that they had been misidentified as Archaic or copies of Archaic.[42] The Ionic mantle of the example in Munich (5B6) (Fig.52) is especially close to the overfold of the Palermo Athena. Note particularly how the illogical pleat which falls directly under the right arm of the kore recurs on the Athena's entirely

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[40] Becatti, of course, classes it with all round statuary in this style as archaizing—a superficial imitation of Archaic work which is distinct from archaistic. The latter term he limits to a decorative style in relief sculpture originating in the Hellenistic period. On problems of terminology see supra pp.4-5.

[41] On the other hand, the sculptor, with characteristic archaistic disregard for logic, seems not to be bothered at all by the inherent incongruity of treating *two* layers of drapery as so diaphanous. Note also on the Vatican piece how the long parabolic fold inside the left leg is actually undercut; this kind of fold on an Archaic piece would not have such volume.

[42] These are treated as a group below (5B).

different garment.[43] Stylistic considerations, then, suggest that the Palermo type was created as a form of archaistic promachos figure which draws certain basic features from such early Imperial types as the Dresden and Herculaneum Athenas, but which also shows influence from those workshops involved in the creation of very close replicas (forgeries?) of Archaic korai. Interest in latter, as is argued below, develops in Julio-Claudian and later times, so the Palermo piece should represent a stage in the development subsequent to that of the Dresden and Herculaneum types. The workmanship on these statues, even the Vatican piece, is rather cursory; the drill is used as a primary carving tool. There is an interest in contrasting very smooth and deeply carved surfaces for chiaroscural effects, which seem inconsistent with the flatness of the archaistic style. The very precise articulation of detail seen on, for example, the Augustan Herculaneum piece is not seen here.[44] Bonacasa-Carrà has suggested a Hadrianic/Antonine date for the Palermo piece; a similar date seems justified for the Vatican piece and the invention of the type.

D. Other Promachos Figures

A small statue in the Louvre (Fig.23) has received scant notice in the works on the archaistic style, although it displays an intriguing combination of features and some clues as to its date and the chronology of the style.[45] Classified in its first publication as Archaic, it was recognized already by Bulle as a Roman work, albeit a copy of a Hellenistic original. Becatti includes it, of course, with his entirely Roman group, and Charbonneaux recognizes the piece as archaistic but avoids the question of date altogether. Schürmann also treats the statue as a Roman creation.

The head preserved on this statue supplies evidence not available for most archaistic statues. It shares with Herdejürgen's Julio-Claudian head type the hard classicizing/archaizing style of the facial features, and the general arrangement of the hair—especially over the forehead. However, its smaller mouth and narrower chin give the face a rounder outline which is closer to the heads of the earlier group.[46] The hair locks in front of the

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[43] This feature, which makes no sense even for the short mantle, is however found on Archaic korai, see below p.113.

[44] On this stylistic feature as an example of Augustan archaism see above p.23. Fullerton 1989, 65-66.

[45] Although this statue is classified by Schürmann as a palladion type, it is here grouped with the promachos figures because of its striding pose. It is certainly more frontal than the other promachos figures.

[46] On these two groups of heads see above p.24. Note that Schürmann questions the pertinence of the head to the statue, but the correspondance of the hair in back suggests that it should go with this body.

ears are arranged in a simple U-shaped pattern on the Julio-Claudian head type, whereas on the Louvre heads they are folded as a mass into a type of *nodus*, a feature also paralleled on the earlier type of archaistic head. The head of the Louvre statue may therefore be simply a contemporary variant of the Claudian type or may be a later work which combines elements of both types.

The Louvre Athena wears a long thin chiton and long diagonal himation fastened along the right upper arm like an Archaic short mantle. This mantle, moreover, has the proper diagonal lower edge and very long mass of zig-zag drapery falling from the right arm. The drapery over the legs has some Archaic transparency, despite its two layers. In some ways, then, this Athena adheres more closely to Archaic convention than any previously discussed. On the other hand, there is nothing Archaic about the style of the Louvre Athena's drapery. The himation folds, although arranged in Archaic-like pleats, have depth and volume; they are broken up into smaller thin folds which lend three-dimensionality to the figure. The folds over the legs are not thin schematic lines, but true modelling folds. The himation's diagonal border is of the rolled type seen on Hellenistic works, and the chiton where visible above the mantle has no crinkly folds but is rendered thoroughly in later style.

The drapery style of the Louvre Athena is generally reminiscent of that East Greek Hellenistic archaistic style which seems to have been supplanted, at least west of the Aegean, by a more Atticizing style by the time of the early principate. Renewed interest in Asiatic Hellenistic recurs sporadically during the first and regularly during the second century A.C.[47] This piece seems to fit best in the latter period. The eclecticism of the face is not consistent with first century examples; sharply defined features set in an astructural and fleshy face are commonly cited as a Hadrianic trait.[48] Moreover, the aegis fastened off-center and rolled back like a collar is very unusual. It has been suggested that it may be an imitation of the *paludamentum* seen on Roman portraits, especially in Antonine and later times. The carving and drilling technique is also consistent with a second century date. As a combination of Archaic, Hellenistic, Early Imperial and later Imperial features, the Louvre Athena can be said with reasonable certainty to be a creation of the later second century A.C.

There are no known marble replicas of the last archaistic promachos type, but the garment type and drapery arrangement of the two bronzes (ID2a-b) are essentially identical and suggest the existence of a statuary prototype. The Baltimore figurine is noticeably stiffer in style and more

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[47] Cf., for the first century, the Sperlonga Palladion (IIB2).
[48] Lauter 1966, 28-29. Raeder 1983, esp. 206-213.

schematic, but which of the two would be closer to the prototype is impossible to say.[49] The type is identified as Athena only by her helmet, so far as these pieces are preserved, but the raised right arm and the lowered left can be restored with spear and shield respectively to complete the promachos type. Both statuettes preserve heads which are High Classical in proportions, facial features and hairstyle. They recall the classicizing heads of late Hellenistic Athenian works.[50] The garment type and style also has its closest parallels among Hellenistic works.[51] The arrangement of the pleats of the overfold recalls the Neo-Attic Chigi-Munich Athena type discussed below. The Chantilly example shows an unusual feature generally limited to East Greek works in Hellenistic style: a bunch of cloth pulled over the diagonal border at its center to rationalize the central pleat.[52] Unlike these Hellenistic works, however, this type strides with its left leg advanced, does not pull its drapery to one side, and has its skirt closed all around. These features are all shared with the Roman archaistic promachos figures in Dresden, Palermo, and Paris, and must have been deemed appropriate to the promachos type. If the type is a Roman creation, as Bulle suggested, the fidelity with which it reproduces particular Hellenistic stylistic features is unusual, but not impossible. The possibility that these statuettes reflect an Attic Hellenistic Athena type separate from the Chigi-Munich Athena type is a real one; if so, such a type would have strongly influenced the Roman archaistic promachoi discussed above, but the question must remain open.[53]

II. Palladion Types

The general scheme defined above as "Palladion" emerges as an archaistic device already in the late Archaic period in a variety of narrative contexts as a means to indicate a statue of Athena. These contexts include the rape of the Palladion as well as such Iliupersis scenes as the violation of Cassandra and the reunion of Helen with Menelaos.[54] Perhaps the first

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[49] That the Chantilly piece is of higher quality speaks in its favor, but that may be wishful thinking since the archaistic is a stiff and schematic style. An objective argument is the bunching of cloth over the himation border seen on the Chantilly bronze and absent on the Baltimore piece. Simplification of a prototype through the omission of a possibly misunderstood detail is a more logical process than the addition of complexity to the drapery arrangement.

[50] Cf. the works of Euboulides and Eukleides: Pollitt 1986, 165-167.

[51] For parallels see: Fullerton 1987, 265-272.

[52] Cf. Pergamon Dancer: supra p.9.

[53] Note that the Roman creations in this case would differ in the adoption of certain genuine Archaic features.

[54] On the Palladion types, see, most recently, LIMC II (1984) 965-969, nos.67-117. (P. Demargne). He includes several Archaic examples. For the scenes mentioned above,

example occurs on the famous Ilioupersis hydria by the Kleophrades Painter, which shows an Athena statue wearing the early Archaic cylindrical foldless peplos while the living figures acting out scenes around it are garbed in richly folded late Archaic dress. The archaistic consistency here extends to the proper frontal eye of the statue which contrasts with the experimental profile eyes of the living figures.[55] Only slightly later is the cup by Makron which shows both Odysseus and Diomedes holding palladia; while both statues take poses best described as promachos types, one is dressed similarly to the statue on the Ilioupersis hydriai and the other wears the late Archaic short Ionic mantle with chiton.[56] This latter type of palladion recurs on a nearly contemporary representation of the same scheme.[57]

Whatever the resolution of the iconographic problems raised by the two-palladion scheme,[58] both the early Archaic and later Archaic types recur in archaistic versions during the Classical era. The latter is less commonly found than the former in vase painting, but was chosen for two archaistic idols preserved from the Ilioupersis pediments of the Argive Heraion (ca. 400 B.C.) and the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros (ca. 375 B.C.).[59] These idols are more or less faithful to Archaic forms and represent a traditionalist approach analogous to the Athena head obverses of Athenian coins.[60] They seem not to undergo the stylistic transformation detected in the promachos figures discussed above. The situation is different in the case of the foldless peplos type. It recurs, ostensibly in Archaic form, on a Parthenon metope,[61] but by the end of the fifth century there are clear signs that this type is assimilating, like the

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see especially Moret 1975, which gives a full account of the mainland Greek iconographic tradition in addition the the Western Greek examples.

[55] Naples 2422. ARV² 189, 74. It has been suggested that the Peplos kore (Akr. 679) represents a similar example of Archaic archaism: B. Ridgway, *JWAG* 36 (1977) 49-61.

[56] Leningrad, Hermitage 649. ARV² 160,13. Moret 1975, pls.30-31.

[57] On an amphora by the Tyszkiewicz painter: Stockholm 1963. ARV² 1643,33. Moret 1975, pl.29.

[58] See Moret 1975, 71-73.

[59] *LIMC* II (1984) 968 nos. 97, 98. Heraion idol: F. Eichler, *ÖJh* 19-20 (1919) 18-46, 90-105. He lists a very fragmentary idol of the other type as well (pp.30-33). Epidauros idol: Crome 1951, 45-55, pl.39. Only the Epidauros idol is clearly shown (through aegis) to be Athena, but the Argive Heraion idol is assumed, from the arm attached to its back, to be from a Kassandra scene.

[60] Despite the apparent fastening of the mantle at the shoulder only rather than along the entire arm, the Argive figure preserves Archaic style quite closely when compared to contemporary archaistic peplophoroi. The artist of the Epidauros idol has taken considerable pains to indicate his understanding of Archaic dress by differentiating the crinkle folds of the chiton sleeve (left) from the heavier wavy folds of the himation along the right upper arm.

[61] North 25. F. Brommer, *Die Metopen des Parthenon* (Mainz 1967) 50-51. Of the same form was the idol on South metope 21 as drawn by Carrey: ibid. 109. Neither is clearly indicated to be Athena, but that is one possibility offered by Brommer.

promachos, to the archaistic Artemis-Hekate type. Numerous examples from this point forth show the peplophoros palladion with a prominent central axis, sometimes even with a swallowtail overfold edge.[62] The frontality as well as the antiquity of this scheme seems to have been deemed appropriate to a figure understood as an important and ancient cult statue. Both types of idol, that with diagonal mantle and that with archaistic peplos, find sculptural expression in Roman times.

A. *The Minerva of Poitiers*

Soon after the discovery of the Poiters statue (Fig.24) in 1902, controversy arose as to whether it was a Roman archaistic creation[63] or a copy of something earlier. Among those who held the latter opinion, the date of the prototype varied from c. 480, to c. 450, to c. 420 B.C.[64] During the present half of the century, scholars have generally classified the piece as a late Hellenistic Neo-Attic creation.[65] Harrison noted an East Greek element in the fleshy facial features; Herdejürgen notes its similarity to the late Hellenistic archaistic ''maenad'' type face and dates it to the second quarter of the first century B.C., slightly earlier than that type.[66] Indeed, this date for the head may serve as starting point for dating the type.

Those who have seen the piece as a copy of a fifth century original generally cite the statue's fidelity to Archaic forms. The schematic ''ribbon candy'' band which runs continuously across the forehead with no suggestion of a part is a feature of Archaic heads and admits no hint of classicism, as do many archaistic heads.[67] The hair masses in front of the ears, which represent hair pulled back from the forehead and left slack to hang in a broad loop,[68] as well as the shoulder locks are rendered in a

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[62] Vases,e.g.: Attic: Naples 3235, Amphora from late fifth century, ARV² 1316,1. Oxford 1931.39, cup by Diomedes painter, ARV² 1516. South Italian: Moret 1975, 71-84 nos. 22-26. All scenes from rape of Palladion. Idols in Kassandra scenes show similar development; cf., e.g., Davreaux 1942, 157-164, nos. 90-98. Moret 11-26. Note also the Athena statue on a second century relief from Pergamon: LIMC II (1984) 966, no.78, w/bibliography. This resembles the late Classical archaizing Artemis statue on Paros: Kleeman 1962, 216-222. Fullerton 1987, 262. Even closer to the archaistic hekataion is the representation of an Athena statue on early Hellenistic coins of Pergamon: LIMC II (1984) 966, no.79.

[63] As held by Michon and Mahler.

[64] Opinions of Audoin, Bulle, and Schmidt, respectively.

[65] Ch. Picard, Kraus, Harrison, Herdejürgen (ultimately), and Willers.

[66] Note that in the previous study of archaistic drapery, she espoused the earlier theory of a fifth century prototype.

[67] E.g., Herdejürgen 1968b, pls.66b, 70.

[68] In contrast with the ''*nodus*'' arrangement seen on the late Hellenistic heads: Herdejürgen 1972; cf. the Louvre Athena above. The rendering on the Poitiers statue has no exact Archaic parallel, but several are close: Richter, Korai nos. 127, 130, 182, and

highly regular and artificial wave pattern reminiscent of Archaic practice.[69] The chiton especially recalls Archaic works in the diaphanous skirt treatment and the finely buttoned edges with very regular folds emanating from the buttons. Nonetheless, direct imitation of Archaic features has been shown to be a characteristic of Roman more than of Greek archaistic statuary.

The overgarment, basically a peplos fastened at one shoulder only, is decidedly post-Archaic both in form and style.[70] Belted in this way just above the hips over a long overfold terminating in a swallowtail edge, it reflects influence from the archaistic peplos of the Alkamenean hekataion tradition.[71] The several central folds of the skirt are slightly displaced from vertical and serve to model the legs, to give some plasticity to the fabrie, and to reflect the slightly advanced right leg. These resemble neither Hellenistic archaistic nor true Archaic arrangements, where one usually finds a flat pleat and schematic linear flanking folds. This feature suggests a sculptor who understood his figure and its drapery rather than one who was simply following a model or combining stock patterns into a pastiche. The upper part of the himation reflects the same expertise. The folds above the girdle, arranged with a subtle gradation of angle and ranging from very taut at the (proper) right to slightly slack on the left, gives a realistic impression of a loose garment pulled tight by the belt. The pleats below the girdle, although arranged in the standard manner of the archaistic peplos, have volume and identity. They relate in a believable way to the basically artificial zig-zag edge of the overfold. Another indication of the sculptor's skill can be seen in his treatment of the aegis over the back. The scales here are not pure pattern imposed on the skin, but vary in their orientation, and some are even raised slightly to reflect folds in the thick material.

This thorough comprehension of subject matter and the general quality of the carving might suggest that the Poitiers statue is the original of the type; however, its provincial findspot and the existence of the two replicas in Rome imply that there was a common prototype in the capital and that the Gallic statue is an excellent copy.[72] This prototype must have been a

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(although with central part) 184. Even closer is the Palatine head seen by Paribeni as Archaic Attic work. Paribeni 1964. Zanker 1987, 243-244, fig.188; cf. below.

[69] Note the very loosely waved locks of such archaistic works as the Dresden Athena and the Herculaneum Pallas.

[70] On this garment see Fullerton 1987, 263 n.20. It seems to begin in early Classical times and becomes common in archaistic renderings by the early Hellenistic period. Schürmann has misunderstood the rendering as three separate garments.

[71] For the popularity of this form in the late first century B.C., especially the Augustan era, see above pp.14,16-17.

[72] Perhaps, as suggested by Schürmann, a work of the mid-first century A.C. It is not

masterpiece of the archaistic style; no other statue treated in this study so skillfully combines archaistic patterning, a knowledge of Greek Archaic sculpture, and that subtle understanding of the relationship between drapery and figure worked out by the sculptors of Classical Greece. The date of the prototype can be fairly well established. Herdejürgen has shown the face to reflect a style of the first century B.C.,[73] but the imitation of Archaic forms suggests a date slightly later than hers. The parallels of the Dresden and Herculaneum Athenas point to a date within the Augustan period.[74]

As on the Hekate of Alkamenes, the stiffness of the figure contrasts with the subtle realism of its carving, and it is likely that here too we are dealing with an idol, i.e. a statue of a statue. If the prototype of the Poitiers Athena type was an Augustan work in Rome, it may well have been the so-called Palladium Palatinus.[75] If this hypothesis is correct, it would provide yet another example of Augustus' usue of hieratic archaism on the Palatine.

B. Other Palladion Figures

The Ince Athena in Liverpool must be roughly derived from the prototype of the Poitiers Athena or a similar work. The statues share the same general pose, the girding over the long overfold at a Classical height, and the swallowtail edge of the overfold. Since neither the shoulders nor the lower

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in any case a local work. It differs strongly in both material and carving style from the local sculptures displayed in the museum, which are crudely executed from native limestone. The Athena is carved from a very high quality white marble which may be Greek; it must be an import from Rome.

[73] Her early first century B.C. date for the prototype is followed by Schürmann.

[74] Note also that the face, while fleshy like the "maenad" type does not display as does that type a pronounced Archaic smile. The mouth is more full, fleshy and classicizing rather like that of the Sperlonga palladion, which stands a very good chance of being early Julio-Claudian (see below). This intermediate position in the development of the archaistic facial style would further support an Augustan date for the type.

[75] On this see Paribeni, p.195. Very little is known about this statue. From one late inscription it is assumed that it stood in the Vesta temple on the Palatine which was erected by Augustus upon his becoming pontifex maximus in 12 B.C. Coins of Galba and later show Vesta holding a palladium, e.g., Mattingly 1923, v.1, pl.58.3., but these coins are not consistent in their representation of the idol. Paribeni believes this palladium is partially preserved in an Archaic head found on the Palatine and that it was of a promachos type. He sees the head as Attic work of the sixth century B.C. We are told of Archaic sculptures brought to the Palatine Apollo sanctuary by Augustus (supra ch.2, pp.20-21, n.65), this may well be one of them. Cf. Schürmann 1985, 46, where the head is identified as archaistic rather than Archaic and as not being from a palladion-type figure. Schürmann also notes that since the Minerva of Poitiers holds a branch (olive?) in its right hand rather than a shield, it too could only be a variation rather than a copy of a statue in a proper palladion scheme. The Palatine head could in any case have served as a model for the Poitiers Athena head type since it shows a very similar hairstyle, and it offers further evidence for a Roman origin for the Poitiers Athena type.

edge of this statue is preserved, it is impossible to tell whether it wore a chiton under its peplos. The aegis worn very long in front is unique among archaistic Athena statues. Ashmole cites as parallel a similar aegis on coin representations of Athena Promachos.[76] Also very peculiar is the form of the belt; it may imitate the tight-fitting panther skins worn by some archaistic Dionysiac figures.[77] Certainly an Imperial creation, a statue such as this is difficult to date more precisely owing to the lack of close parallels. Ashmole, on the basis of the aegis, proposes the first half of the first century A.C.

The palladion from Sperlonga is, of all the statues collected here, the one most deserving of the term since it comes from a narrative group involving Odysseus and Diomedes. In the tradition of palladia with diagonal mantle, this statue displays a relatively close adherence to Archaic forms, especially in the treatment of the chiton sleeve. The richly textured and deeply carved rendering of the the mantle is most reminiscent of East Greek Hellenistic works found commonly on Rhodes.[78] As pointed out above, the face represents a late stage in the transformation of Ionian Hellenistic fleshiness into late Julio-Claudian classicism—the sequence of styles in archaistic faces recognized by Herdejürgen.[79] The primary archaistic feature of the face is the concavity of surface around the mouth, but the structure and proportions of the head as well as the shape of the eyes and mouth are as much classicizing as they are archaistic.[80] The hairstyle shows the *nodus* of hair in front of either ear, as seen on many Roman archaistic heads, e.g. the Louvre Athena above. The implication of a part above the forehead is another classicizing feature.[81] In sum, the connections notes seem best to fit an early Imperial date with strong Hellenistic, especially East Greek, associations.

This assessment is perfectly consistent with the identification by some scholars of the Sperlonga sculptures as Rhodian originals created in a Hellenistic baroque style for the Tiberian grotto.[82] The situation is com-

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[76] Cf. the Claudian examples: Mattingly 1923, v.1, pls.35.3-4, 36.7. The form of the aegis on these Athenas resembles that of a cuirass.

[77] Cf. the Dionysos Braschi type (6IIC).

[78] Fullerton 1987, 263-264, esp. n.22.

[79] Supra p.24. Herdejürgen also places the Sperlonga head in the Tiberian era; in fact she sees the style of this head as evidence for a Tiberian date for the Sperlonga sculptural program.

[80] Cf. especially Euboulides' Athena; note Havelock 1981, 165-166, nos. 103 & 106 where they are illustrated on facing pages.

[81] This hairstyle is closely paralleled on a number of heads without helmets dated to the Tiberian era by Herdejürgen; cf. supra p.24.

[82] The bibliography on the Sperlonga sculptures is enormous. For recent summary of the points of view with a listing of some sources, see Pollitt 1986, 122-126, 297 (bibliography). Pollitt follows the view that the figures are more or less free adaptations of earlier

plicated by the possibility that there existed an earlier prototype for the group. Andreae has suggested that the this group, like the "Pasquino" group at Sperlonga is adapted from a bronze original of the second century B.C., a view which is supported by von Blanckenhagen.[83] If this was the case, then it is impossible to tell how closely the style of the Palladion corresponds to that of its prototype. The drapery pattern and style, like the rendering of the hand, is perfectly consistent with styles which can be documented in the second century B.C., particularly in the eastern Aegean. If the facial style is also that of a Hellenistic predecessor,[84] we would have evidence to date the appearance of archaizing facial features slightly earlier than the first century B.C., which is the presently assumed era of their first occurrence. Alternatively, the archaizing of the face could be one of the adaptations made by the creator of the Sperlonga group. The lack of Hellenistic parallels for this kind of archaistic head and the popularity of the style in Roman works would favor the latter possibility, but since we have no other replica by which to determine what variations the "copyists" may have made, the question must remain open. In any case, the Palladion, like the other Sperlonga sculptures and the Laocoon, shows features conventionally associated with both Rhodian Hellenistic sculpture and Roman Imperial tastes.

C. Related Statues

Three Athenas are, strictly speaking, neither Promachos nor Palladion types, but since their composition and orientation are essentially frontal, they are treated in this section.

Despite its static pose, the Albani Athena (Fig.25) shows certain stylistic affinities with several of the promachos figures discussed above. As is often the case, Bulle identifies this statue as a copy of a Classical archaistic work of around 450 B.C.,[85] while others have recognized it as a Roman creation.[86] Its garment arrangement is similar to that of the Palermo Athena, although in the Albani statue the folds are less rigid and have

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types. For a summary of the evidence that the statues were at least executed in the early first century A.C., cf. A.F. Stewart, *JRS* 67 (1977) 88-90. The primary publication remains: Andreae & Conticello 1974.

[83] In his review of Andreae and Conticello 1974: *AJA* 80 (1976) 99-104. Conticello's view (in Andreae and Conticello 1974, 52) that the group copies a late Classical original has not won many followers.

[84] And we should remember the similarity to late second century classicizing works mentioned cited above.

[85] On comparison with the Aigina and Dresden Athena.

[86] Lippold (Helbig[3] II no.1866) suggests that it is a Roman copy of an Etruscan work.

more volume.[87] For example, the central pleat and flanking verticals on the Albani Athena are more a group of parallel vertical folds than stacked pleats as on the Palermo Athena, and it himation is far less similar to Archaic arrangements. The mass of drapery falling from under the right arm is here simplified into one long section of drapery, which is balanced by a corresponding shorter section on the left side; thus the inverted V in the lower edge of the mantle is preserved, but it does not relate here, as it does on the Palermo Athena, to the true nature of the garment. The style of the folds themselves is also less Archaic; the pleats are more plastic and the zig-zags less angular. The aegis is of the type of both the Palermo and Dresden Athenas. The snake belt here is more contrived and decorative than that of the Dresden statue, since on the latter there is a true knot while on the Albani statue the snakes are rather fancifully entwined.

The face of this statue closely resembles Herdejürgen's Claudian Athena type and for this reason she, along with Willers, would assign the Albani Athena a late Julio-Claudian date.[88] This may serve only as a *terminus post quem*, since the Louvre Athena suggests that this head type is longer lived than Herdejürgen implies.[89] It is also clear that this piece, like the Louvre Athena, is modelled after works which are already early Roman archaistic, like the Dresden and Palermo types. The statue could therefore date anywhere in the later first to the second century A.C., but the deep carving and baroque chiaroscural effects may indicate an Antonine date.

Despite the poor surface preservation of the Barracco Athena (Fig.26), Willers, on the basis of its workmanship, identifies it as a Greek Hellenistic original. Its hard linear style and elongated proportions suggest to Fuchs a date in the first half of the third century. The drapery pattern of this statue is without parallel, but certain Hellenistic feature are displayed. The overall proportions, with narrow shoulders, wider hips, and drapery which accentuates this flaring outline indicate the later Hellenistic period. The stacked pleats of the overfold ending in narrow swallowtails and separated by areas of clinging drapery are not dissimilar from Attic Hellenistic works.[90] Since here the garment is an ungirt peplos rather than a diagonal himation or a diagonally bound peplos, the repetitive

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[87] It is impossible to determine, given this statue's state of preservation, whether the overgarment is a short or long diagonal mantle. While the latter is far more common on archaistic works, the Herculanem Athena reminds us that the former is always a possibility.

[88] The hairstyle, on the other hand, shares some features with the more nearly Archaic coiffure of the Minerva of Poitiers, especially the locks which sweep down into a bundle in front of either ear.

[89] 1968b, 224-225. She sees it as no later than Julio-Claudian times.

[90] Cf. the Chigi-Munich Athena below. The flaring treatment of the pleat ouside the left breast is also reminiscent of the Hellenistic Agora fragment (IIIC6).

overfold pleats create a general impression different from that of other Neo-Attic works, yet this difference may be deceptive. The overgarment draped to hang high and reveal a large portion of chiton skirt is a feature of Hellenistic works both Attic and Asiatic. The unifacial arrangement of drapery with leg-framing and central pleats is a feature of Hellenistic Artemis-Hekate figures in East Greece and the mainland.[91] Fuchs and Willers are therefore correct in their assessment of the statue as Greek Hellenistic in style, although its affinities are with archaistic works of the second and first centuries B.C. rather than the third. Since Hellenistic styles in the Greek speaking world did not die out, there is no guarantee that this statue was not created during the Roman Imperial era.

The Florence Athena (Fig.27) combines the stance of the Barracco piece with the diagonal mantle and overfold arrangement like the that of the Albani Athena. Although it shares with the Barracco Athena a strong frontality and triple-axis arrangement of skirt folds, its legs are covered with the very thin clinging drapery which gives a much more evident plastic-linear contrast. The himation overfold has the long fall of drapery at the fastened side and the common swallowtail form, but the rendering on the Florence statue is not in the least like Archaic versions. The diagonal border of the mantle has the East Greek Hellenistic bunching, the plastically rendered chiton sleeves have no semblance of Archaic crinkly folds, and the weighted end of the long zig-zag fall of overfold drapery recalls the Sciarra type Artemis (2IC).[92] The introduction of Ionian plastic drapery treatment into a basically Roman archaistic scheme[93] and the carving technique[94] combine to suggest a second century A.C. date for the Uffizi Athena.

III. Other Archaistic Athenas

A. The Chigi-Munich Type

The Chigi-Munich type has been fully treated elsewhere and its identification as a second-century B.C. Attic invention argued in detail.[95] The

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[91] See Fullerton 1987, 261-265.

[92] This comparison is even closer in back where the overfold falls in two weighted zig-zag patterns of nearly equal length.

[93] As on the Louvre Athena.

[94] The workmanship is mediocre at best. The drapery is cut largely with coarsely rendered drill channels; the surface is covered with tooling marks. Bulle sees in the many non-Archaic features an indication of an Early Classical prototype for this statue, but this statue shows even less affinity to works in the Severe style than the other statues he similarly, and wrongly, identifies (e.g. Dresden and Herculaneum Athenas). Mansuelli recognizes the work as a Roman archaistic creation. Schürmann (n.625) suggests a Hadrianic or early Antonine date.

[95] Fullerton 1987, 272-276.

monuments of this type are listed again here because some at least were works of the Roman Imperial period, even if they do reproduce a Hellenistic type. Moreover, since this type represents an important stage in the development of the Hellenistic style and since its influence was clearly felt in the creation of Roman archaistic images, a brief analysis of the type is also included here.

The association of the type (e.g. Fig. 28) with Hellenistic works of the so-called neo-Attic school is based on three observations. First, the type is clearly derived from a variety of East Greek Hellenistic archaistic dancer best exemplified by a small statue from the Attalid palace at Pergamon. A date in the later second century thus seems likely. Second, the type corresponds in garment arrangement and style to several figures known from neo-Attic archaistic reliefs, especially the Athena and Artemis figures. Finally, like these relief figures, the statues occur both with and without aegis, presumably in order to stand for different deities. In fact, although classed with Athena types here, we cannot be sure which goddess this figure type was first used to represent.[96] This use of a single type for a variety of purposes is a hallmark of neo-Attic relief work.[97]

At times already in this study the Chigi-Munich type has been used to contrast the Hellenistic archaistic style with the kinds of archaism found on Roman creations. In general the difference is in the relationship of these respective styles to actual Archaic work. Hellenistic archaistic works, like those of the Classical era, do not really imitate Archaic work to any great degree. On this type, for example, we see several features associated with Archaic sculptures: the stiff-legged gait, the diagonally draped overgarment, the crinkled chiton with buttoned sleeves, the looping folds where the skirt is pulled to one side, the swallowtail pattern and the zig-zag drapery edge. However, for none of these features can a parallel be found from Archaic times which is very much like the rendering on the Hellenistic type. The latter uses these Archaic stylistic devices in a more decorative way, whereas in Archaic times they functioned as a descriptive and analytical, albeit artificial, expression of structural realities. The Roman work combines the decorative qualities of Classical and Hellenistic archaism with forms more directly imitative, if no more comprehending, of Archaic forms.[98] The distinction seen here recalls Becat-

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[96] There is a good chance it was Artemis, cf. Fullerton 1987, 275, n.60.

[97] Cf. Havelock 1964, 47-50. She shows that the majority of archaistic relief figures reproduce the same basic figure type with the addition of appropriate attributes.

[98] The two most obvious features imitated from Archaic work in Roman times are facial structure and the Ionic himation, although the latter is almost always shown as the overfold of the long mantle. Others, like the chiton of the Munich Tyche or the entire scheme of a group of korai, will be discussed in succeeding chapters.

ti's use of "arcaistico" and "arcaizzante," but my intent is not to be so mutually exclusive as he. The Chigi-Munich type should remind us both of the persistence of Hellenistic archaistic forms into Roman times and their continuing use as a source of inspiration for Roman archaistic creations.[99]

B. Other Archaistic Athena Statues

Recognizing the stylistic affinities of the Hamburg statue (IIIB1) (Fig.29) with Asiatic Hellenistic work, Hoffman dates it to the second quarter of the second century B.C., and indeed its lively chiaroscural style is reminiscent of certain East Greek works. Hoffman cites the Pergamon dancers as stylistic parallels; the pose and implied central axis of this statue recall certain Rhodian works.[100] Also like these the Hamburg piece is very slightly archaistic with a few omega folds and only the barest hint of a central pleat. On the other hand, the outer garment of this Athena betrays its Roman date, since it is the same as that worn by the Hope type "Artemis," no matter how disguised by the Asiatic drapery style. This latter type has been shown to be a Roman archaistic creation with connections to both the belted archaistic peplos of Hekataia and the unbelted Severe (or Severizing) peplos with overfold. The garment of the Hamburg Athena can only be understood as an Asiatic version of this Roman costume; the use of Greek marble further suggests that this is an Eastern work of Roman date.

The Leningrad Athena (IIIB2) is without any close parallel. The form of the aegis, its general pose, and in a vague way the drapery style recall the Hamburg Athena more than anything else. The two statues also share the peculiar mannerism of a small section of drapery emerging from under the aegis over one shoulder blade. While drapery on the front of the Leningrad statue is arranged around two pleats rather than one as on the Hamburg piece, the treatment in back on the two statues is vaguely similar. The Leningrad statue is also very much more linear and angular in its drapery style, but one could reasonably see the two as rather different versions of the same general type. The material of the Leningrad piece is further evidence for a Eastern origin and a Roman date.

The only known example of an archaistic Athena karyatid (Fig.30), the statue in Corinth (IIIB3) was once part of the decorative scheme of the

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[99] E.g., to cite one example, the Pompeii Artemis type (2IIA)—a characteristically Roman creation with strong Hellenistic roots.

[100] Especially the "Alexandrian" Isis figures found on Rhodes and elsewhere, Fullerton 1987, 265, n.26.

Odeion there.[101] Broneer dates the statue by both stylistic and archaeological evidence to the final building stage of the Odeion, which was destroyed by fire in the early third century A.C. Since the statue bears no trace of fire damage, it should date to the reconstruction ca. A.D. 225, while theoretically it could have been erected at any time up to the end of the fourth century. Broneer further argues against the possibility that the statue is from an earlier building period, since its low quality precludes an Augustan or Hadrianic date and its lack of drilling an Antonine date. The Athena would in this case be the latest archaistic statue for which we have external dating evidence.

The features of this statue are drawn from various sources, but the composition as a whole is unique. The long diagonal mantle with overfold and illogical zig-zag upper border is a familiar archaistic garment. The overfold pleats, slightly flaring with swallowtail terminations recall those of neo-Attic works like the Chigi-Munich type, while the horizontal accent they create is similar to that of the Dresden Athena. The drapery arrangement over the legs, as far as can be determined now, has a single central pleat with a regular pattern of thin curved folds over the legs as occurs also on very early archaistic hekataia. However, the gesture of the hand has been recognized as Archaic.[102] The schematic ridges of the chiton folds recall Archaic renderings also, but bear many later traits as well. The large ornamental buttons have no Archaic parallel and the crinkly folds themselves do not emanate from the fastenings, as they would on an Archaic statue. The V-shaped fold in the chiton between the breasts, which show the ridges here are texturing rather than folds, resembles a similar feature on the peploi of Attic Hellenistic hekataia.[103] The loose wavy shoulder locks are yet another post-Archaic trait. These features, early and late, are here organized in a static, axial composition which together with the massiveness of the statue is appropriate to the function of the piece as a karyatid.[104]

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[101] Only the owl serves to identify the figure as Athena. The preserved right hand of a counterpart and the draping of the mantle over the left shoulder indicate the function as a karyatid.

[102] Ridgway 1977, 109. She notes that it is the same as that of the Lyons kore.

[103] Kraus 1960, pls. 6,7,13,19.

[104] Note how the V-shaped chiton fold, central overfold pleat, and skirt fold between the legs all together lend a strong central axis to the figure which is balanced by the horizontal accent of the overfold pleats.

Catalogue

I. Promachos Types

A. Herculaneum Pallas Type

1. Naples, Museo Nazionale no.101 (6007) FIG 16

Carrara Marble H: 2.0 m.

Athena striding forward with left leg advanced holds forth its aegis with the left arm, and raises its right arm as if to brandish a spear. She wears a long-sleeved chiton with short overfold; over this a short Ionic mantle with zig-zag upper border is fastened at the right shoulder. Hairstyle consists of a pattern of ringlets parted over the center of the forehead and long locks of hair falling over the shoulders and down the back. Atop the head is worn an Attic helmet with central crest and flanking griffins in low relief. Found in the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum. C. Waldstein & L. Shoobridge, *Herculaneum, Past, Present and Future* (1908) 273, 301, pl.20. Ruesch 1908, 28, no. 101 (6007). Bulle 1918, 6-7, no.1, pl.1. Schmidt 1922, 59-60, n.12. R. Alcubierre, *RendAccNap*, 1940, 290. Becatti 1941, 47. Harrison 1965, 51, 66, 73-75, pl.63d. I. Sgobbo, *RendAccNap* 45 (1970) 156-158. Pandermalis 1971, 192, 205, no.41. Bonacasa-Carrà 1974, 144, n.13, fig.9. Willers 1975, 61. Ridgway 1977, 315, n.14. LIMC II (1984) 973, no.171. Wojcik 1986, 139-140, no.E 8. Bruskari 1986. Pollitt 1986, 183-184, fig.193.

2. Athens, Agora Excavations Inv. no. S1064 FIG 17

Pentelic Marble PH: 0.244 m.

Fragmentary head identical to that of no.1 above. Preserves front of neck with necklace. lower section of face, left side of head above the nose, curls above the left temple. Helmet, remainder of hair, and back of neck are all broken away. Found, 1938, on North Slope of Akropolis. Harrison 1965, 51, 66, 73-35 no.124, pl.26. Bruskari 1986, 77, 82.

3. Athens, Akropolis Museum Nos. 7181, 8750, 3189, 7782 + 2899

Pentelic Marble 7181—PH: 0.40 m. 8750—PH: 0.19 m. 3189—PH: 0.53 m. 7782 + 2899—PH: 0.705 m.

Four fragments from a statue of the same type as nos. 1&2. 7181 preserves a section from the left shoulder and upper arm with aegis and chiton sleeve. 8750 preserves a section from the back of the right shoulder with the terminal curl of one lock of hair. 3189 preserves a section from

the skirt of the statue including the left knee, a section of thigh above and shin below, part of the vertical drapery pleats between the legs (2 of the three main pleats). From Akropolis storerooms; no excavation information. Bruskari 1986, 77-79, pls. 107-108.

B. Dresden Type

1. Dresden, Skulpturensammlung No. 26 FIG 18-19

Carrara Marble PH: 1.51 m.

Statue of Athena striding forward with left leg and wearing long chiton and archaistic peplos with long overfold; aegis covers breasts in front and hangs long in the back; two goat's legs from aegis in back are knotted over the overfold in front. The central pleat of the peplos skirt is decorated with eleven panels in low relief. Three wavy locks of hair are preserved in front of each shoulder. Head, both arms, and both feet have broken away. From Chigi Collection. Overbeck 1893, I 256, fig. 69. BrBr 149. D. Finn, *JHS* 32 (1912) 43-56. Bulle 1918, 8-9, no.4. Schmidt 1922, 60, n.12. Herrmann 1925, 12, no.26. Lippold 1950, 101 n.12. Willers 1975, 51, pl.32.1. Schürmann 1985, 76 n.1029.

2. London, British Museum Br 191 FIG 20

Bronze H: 0.118 m.

Bronze statuette of type of statue no. 1 above. Figure is intact lacking only attributes held in hands. Right arm is held aloft and probably originally held a spear. The left arm is bent forward at the elbow and once would have held a shield. Atop the Attic helmet sits a crest in the form of a sphinx. Acquired 1873 from Castellani Collection. Once in Athens. A. Murray, *A History of Greek Sculpture* (1883) II 113, pl.10. idem, *Handbook of Greek Archaeology* (1892) 263, pl.20. Walters 1899, 16, no.191, pl.29. Bulle 1918, 8, n.23, no.5. Niemeyer 1960, 87, no.1.

3. Vienna, Kunsthistorische Museum No. V1354

Bronze statuette of same basic type with some minor differences. Proportions are heavier and the folds along the right flank are longer. Surface is not well-preserved so details are not clear. Lacking are crest of helmet, left arm, and both feet. Niemeyer 1960 87, no.5. Willers 1975, 60, pl.32.2.

C. Palermo Type

1. Palermo, Museo Nazionale NI 1535 FIG 21

Carrara Marble PH: 1.25 m.

Archaistic striding Athena wearing chiton and (probably long) diagonal himation. A scaly aegis covers the breasts in front and is worn long down over the back. The statue was heavily restored in the eighteenth century. The head is not pertinent; other restorations: neck, right shoulder and arm, left arm from end of chiton sleeve, lower section from knees down, lower part of drapery hanging under right arm, and many small sections of drapery and parts of edge of aegis. Formerly Astuto collection. Purchased in Rome in eighteenth century. EA 554 (P. Arndt). A. Preyss, *JdI* 27 (1912) 110,113, figs. 21-23. Bulle 1918, 10, no.7, pl.1. Becatti 1941, 47. Bianchi-Bandinelli 1941, 96. J. Marconi Bovio, *Il Museo Archaeologico di Palermo* (Rome 1969) 32. Bonacasa-Carrà 1974, 144-147, figs. 1-4. Willers 1975, 61, pl.34. LIMC II (1984) 1087, no.166.

2. Vatican Museums, Galleria dei Candelabri no.155A FIG 22

Carrara Marble PH: 0.74 m.

Lower part of archaistic Athena Promachos statue preserved from the area of the waist to the feet, with lower edge of hanging drapery section at right, lower part of aegis at back, and left foot broken away. Lippold 1956, 269, no.51, pl.125. Bonacasa-Carrà 1974, 145 n.29, fig.11.

D. Other Promachos Figures

1. Paris, Musée du Louvre No. 674 FIG 23

White (Louvre: Pentelic) Marble PH: 0.86 m.

Female figure striding with left leg advanced and wearing chiton and long diagonal himation; scaly aegis is worn long in back, is fastened with a gorgoneion clasp above the right breast, and is turned back like a shirt collar around the neck. Restorations: helmet decoration, tip of nose, lower part of drapery under the right arm, left foot with most of plinth. From collection of the Ducal palace in Modena. Fröhner 1889, no.14. Bulle 1918, 10, no.8, pl.1. Becatti 1941, 47. Charbonneaux 1963, 88, no.674. Herdejürgen 1968, 74 n.457. Schürmann 1985, 44-45.

2. Chantilly Athena

Two archaistic bronze statuettes of Athena which are close enough to one another to suggest the possibility of a larger scale prototype:

a) Besançon, Musée Conde

H: 0.18 m.

Athena statuette striding forward with left leg advanced and wearing long chiton, long diagonal himation fastened at right shoulder, and helmet. Both arms, now lacking, were cast separately and attached. Helmet crest is missing. Found in a grave near Besançon in 1805. L. Heuzey, *Mon Piot* 4 (1897) 5-14, pls. 1-2 (w/previous bibliography). Bulle 1918, 15, no.28, pl.4. Niemeyer 1960 87, no.2.

b) Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 54.777

H: 0.18 m.

Bronze statuette of same type as 2b above; both forearms are lacking. Formerly W.F.Cook collection. D. Kent Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore 1949) 87, no.199, pl.39 (w/previous bibliography). Niemeyer 1960, 87, no.3. LIMC II (1984) 974, no.173.

II. Palladion Types

A. Minerva of Poitiers

1. Poitiers, Musée Municipal FIG 24

Fine-grained white marble H: 1.52 m.

Standing female figure wearing long chiton, and long diagonal himation fastened at left shoulder and girt over a long overfold. Its aegis covers the breasts in front and hangs long in the back. An Attic helmet is worn atop a head with archaistic facial features and hairstyle. It stands stiffly with the right leg slightly advanced. The left arm is held down to the side, and the right upper arm is held slightly out and forward. The right forearm, which was once dowelled on, is now missing. The front of the right foot is broken away; otherwise the statue is complete. Found, 1902, in a Roman structure (bath?) at Lusignon. E. Audoin, *MonPiot* 9 (1902) 43-71, pls.4-5. A. Mahler, *RA* 41 (1902) 161-166, pl.14. E. Michon, *JdI* (1902) 65. É.Espérandieu, *Recueil general des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine II—Aquitaine* (Paris 1908) 295-298, no.1392. Bulle 1918, 18, no.35, pl.5. Schmidt 1922, 59. C. Picard, *La Sculpture antique II* (Pairs 1926) 222-223, fig.90. Kraus 1960, 114 n.556. C. Picard, *RA* (1963) 85. E. Paribeni, *BdA* 49 (1964) 194-195, fig.5. Harrison 1965, 57. Herdejürgen 1968, 74 n.458. pl.13. Herdejürgen 1972, 310 n.44. Willers 1975, 62. LIMC II (1984) 1087, no.165. Schürmann 1985, 45-47.

2/3. Rome, Musei Capitolini

Marble

Two heads of same type as that of the Poitiers Minerva. Paribeni mentions both but illustrates only one. Paribeni 1964, 194-195, fig.5.

B. Other Palladion-Type Figures

1. Liverpool, City Art Museum No. 518

Carrara Marble PH: 0.63 m.

Torso of archaistic Athena standing with legs held tightly together and wearing (apparently) a peplos with very long overfold, an aegis long both in front and back, and a belt with fastening in the form of a feline head. The ancient head does not go with the body. Also restored: both arms, shoulders, neck, hair in back, edge of aegis, patches of drapery, legs from knees down, and plinth. Formerly Ince Blundell Hall no.11. Ashmole 1929, no.11, pl.1.

2. Sperlonga, Museo Archeologico

East Greek Marble PH: 0.82 m.

Upper part of a small statue of Athena held in the left arm (of Diomedes?). This idol is dressed in a chiton with buttoned sleeves, a diagonal himation, and a triple crested Attic helmet. She brandishes the remnant of a spear in her right hand; the left arm is stretched out in front. Preserved are the statue from about the waist up and nearly the entire arm of the figure holding it. Also missing are the entire left hand and left helmet crest of the palladion. Found, 1957, in the "Grotto of Tiberius" at Sperlonga. Herdejürgen 1972, 306-308. Andreae & Conticello 1974, 39 no. 4.1.1,2, 44-45, 52, 95-103, fig. 63, pls. 41-44, w/prev. bibliography. Havelock 1981, 129-130, no.106. Andreae 1982, 167-176.

C. Figures Related to Palladion Types

1. Rome, Villa Albani No. 970 FIG 25

Carrara Marble PH: 1.125 m.

Standing archaistic female figure wearing chiton and (short?) diagonal mantle. Aegis is worn long in back and over the breasts in front; its belt is formed by two snakes from the back portion of the aegis belted in front. The helmet is restored. Friedrichs 1885, 185, no.445. Helbig[3] II no.1866 (not in Helbig[4]). BrBr 653 (G. Lippold). Bulle 1918, 9-10, no.6, pl.1. Schmidt 1922, 60, n.12. Becatti 1941, 47. Lippold 1950, 101. Herdejürgen 1968b, 224. Willers 1975, 61, pl.35.2. LIMC II (1984) 1087, no.167.

2. Rome, Museo Barracco No. 78 FIG 26

Large-grain white marble PH: 1.23 m.

Draped Athena standing with right leg slightly advanced and wearing long chiton, ungirt peplos with long overfold, and small collar-like aegis. Head, right arm, front portion of both feet, and part of left arm are broken away. Helbig[4] II no.1847 (W. Fuchs) w/previous bibliography. Willers 1975, 61, pl.40.1.

3. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi No. 13 FIG 27

Carrara Marble PH: 1.41 m.

Draped female figure stands with left leg slightly advanced and wears chiton, long diagonal himation with overfold fastened at right shoulder, and aegis hanging over breasts in front and to about the same level in back. Restorations: Right forearm, left arm w/shield, base, anterior part of feet. Ancient head is not pertinent, but was placed on this body in 1795. Dütschke 1878, 98 no.166. Bulle 1918, 19, no.37, pl.5. G. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi*, *La Scultura* I (Rome 1958) 144-145, no.113. Herdejürgen 1968, 89 n.585. Schürmann 1985, 44.

III. Other Archaistic Athena Types

A. Chigi-Munich Athena

1. Munich, Glyptothek Inv. Antikensammlungen St. 10087 FIG 28

Greek Marble PH: 0.79 m.

Athena striding with right leg forward, wearing chiton, long diagonal himation with overfold fastened at right shoulder, and small, collar-like aegis. Three shoulder locks are preserved on each breast. Head and arms are missing. Bulle 1918, 17. no.34, pl.4 w/previous bibliography. Heidenreich 1935, 680. Harrison 1965, 57 n.64. Herdejürgen 1968, 83 n.514. Fullerton 1987, 273 n.58 no.1, pl.20.1.

2. Milan, Torno Collection

Greek (Petersen) Marble PH: 0.68 m.

Striding Athena statuette of type identical to no. IIIA1 above. Head, right forearm,left wrist and hand, lower part of skirt, and feet are all missing. Formerly Siena, Chigi Collection. E. Petersen, *RomMitt* 8 (1893) 348-352, figs.13-14. Bulle 17, no.33. *Catalogo di mostra di scultura antiche a Bergamo* (1958) 9, no.12. Harrison 1965, 57 n.64. Herdejürgen, 1968, 83 n.514, pl.16a. Fullerton 1987, 273 n.58 no.2, pl.20.2.

3. Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Art Acc. no. 48-2-1

Marble PH: 0.30 m.

Statuette of Athena, apparently of same type as nos. IIIA1 & IIIA2 above. Surface very badly preserved. Head and arms are missing. Harrison 1965, 57 n.64. Herdejürgen 1968, 83 n.514. *Ancient Art in the Virginia Museum* (Richmond 1973) 138. Fullerton 1987, 273 n.58 no.3.

4. Rome, Private Collection

Marble

Fragment of Athena statue similar to type of nos. IIIA1-3 above. Preserves part of aegis including gorgoneion, part of diagonal mantle border, and two pleats of overfold. Herdejürgen 1968, 83, n.514. Fullerton 1987, 273 n.58 no.4.

5. Rome, Museo Barracco Inv. no. 87

Carrara Marble PH: 0.80 m.

Striding draped female identical in type to those listed above except for lack of aegis. Head and arms are missing. Bulle 1918, 17, no.32, pl.4. Heidenreich 1935, 680. Harrison 1965, 57 n.63. Herdejürgen 1968, 83 n.514. Fullerton 1987, 273 n.58 no.5, pl.20.3.

6. Athens, Agora Museum (Storerooms) Inv.no. S2115 A,B

Pentelic Marble A—PH: 0.40 m. B—PH: 0.216 m.

Two fragments from a kore approximately life-size, which is similar to IIIA1-5 above. Fragment A preserves the right breast, two shoulder locks, part of the ruffled border of a diagonal mantle. Fragment B preserves the section between the breasts with crinkly folds of the chiton and part of the himation border. Harrison 1965, 70, no.113, pl.23. Fullerton 1987, 273 n.58 no.6.

7. Bronze Statuette, Location unknown.

Figure is without attributes and has drapery arrangement similar to that of nos.IIIA1-5 above. Formerly Athens NM 7413. A. deRidder, *MonPiot* 2 (1895) 145-156, pls.16-17. Bulle 1918, 16, no.31, pl.4. Heidenreich 1935, 680. Herdejürgen 1968, 83 n.514. Fullerton 1987, 273 n.58 no.7.

B. Other Archaistic Athena Statues

1. Hamburg, Antikensammlung Inv. no. 1960.72 FIG 29

Pentelic (Hoffmann) Marble PH: 1.43 m.

Athena statue standing with weight on left leg and right leg strongly bent; it wears long chiton, diploidion fastened at both shoulders, and a small collar-like aegis. Head and arms are missing; most of left lower leg and foot and right foot are broken away. H. Hoffmann, *AA*, 1960, 140-144, figs. 68-70. Hoffman 1961, 7, 36, pl.20-21.

2. Leningrad, Hermitage No. A168

Green Basalt PH: 0.78 m.

Torso of archaistic Athena statue wearing thin garment (chiton?) over which is worn either a short mantle fastened at both shoulders or a long peplos with overfold and a short collar-like aegis. Its right arm was raised and left arm lowered. The head, most of both arms, drapery falling from under the right arm, and legs from about mid-thigh down are all missing. O. Waldhauer, *Die antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage* III (Berlin 1928) 1, no.213, pl.1 w/previous bibliography.

3. Corinth, Museum Inv. no. 1368 FIG 30

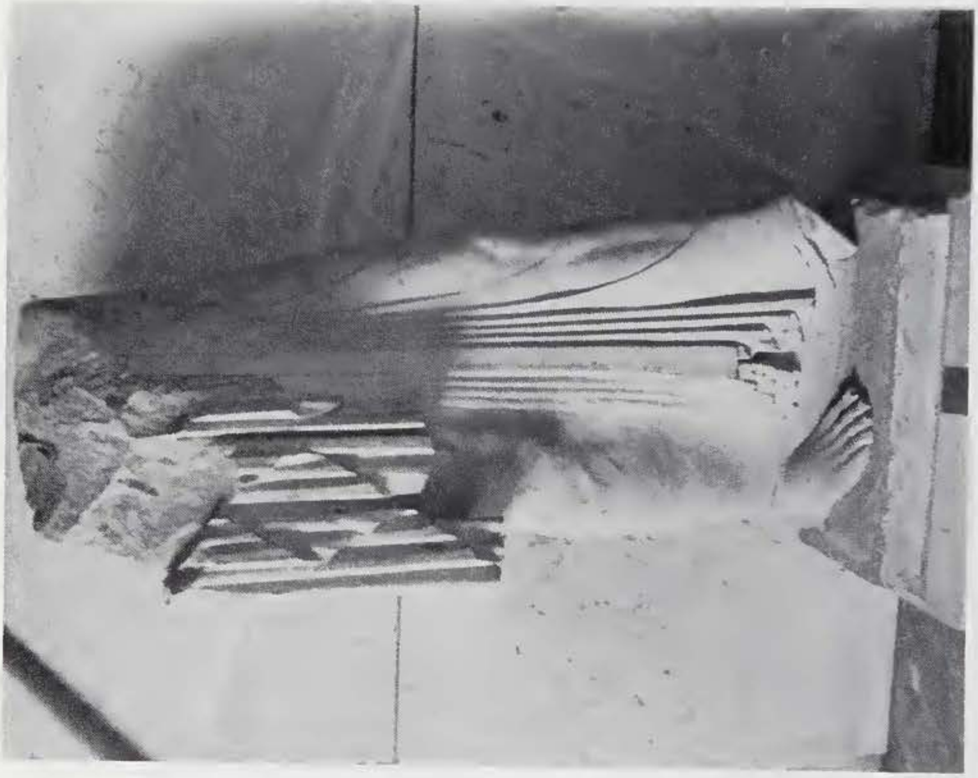
Pentelic Marble PH: 1.40 m.

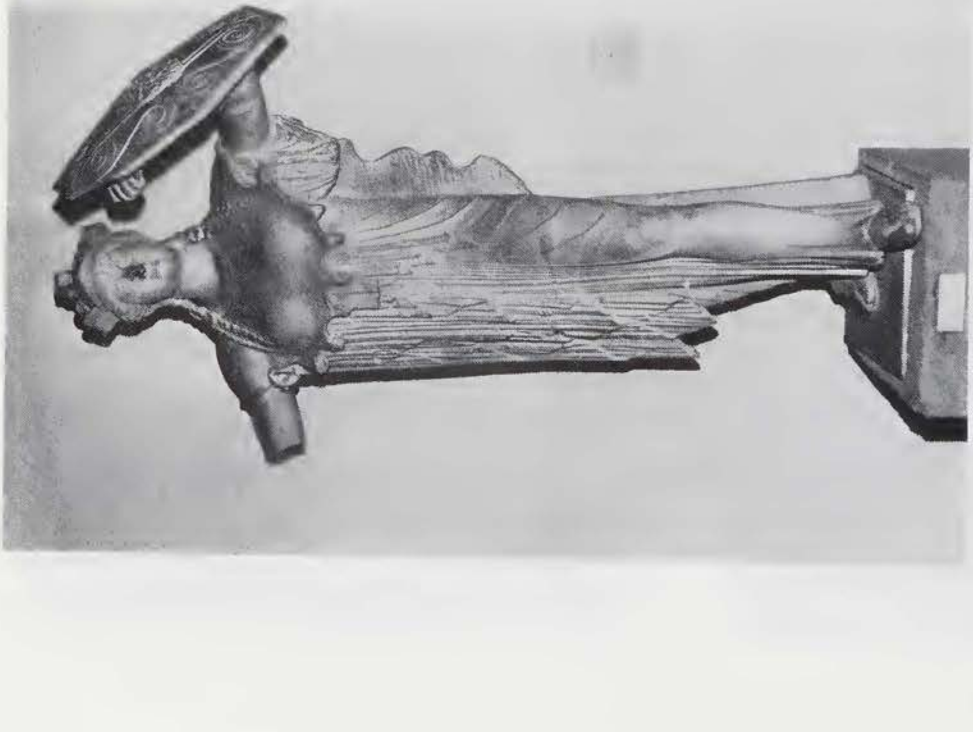
Draped torso wearing chiton and long diagonal himation with overfold fastened at left shoulder. The right hand holds skirt drapery at the side. The left hand holds a small owl in front of the left breast. Two long locks fall onto either shoulder. Head and legs from about mid-thigh are broken off. From Odeion at Corinth. O. Broneer, *Corinth 10—The Odeion* (Princeton 1932) 117-123, nos.1-2, pls.15-16. Ridgway 1977, 109, figs.64-65.

16. Naples, Museo Nazionale no. 101(6007)—Herculaneum Athena, Cat. 3IA1—[Alinari 11122]

17. Athens, Agora Excavations inv.no.S1064—Head of Athena, fragment, Cat. 3IA2—[Courtesy, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations]
18. Dresden, Skulpturensammlung no.26—Statue of Athena, Cat. 3IB1—[Courtesy, Skulpturensammlung—Staatliche Kunstsammlung Dresden]

19. detail of fig.18
20. London, British Museum Br 191—Bronze Statuette of Athena, Cat. 3IB2—[Courtesy, Trustees of the British Museum]





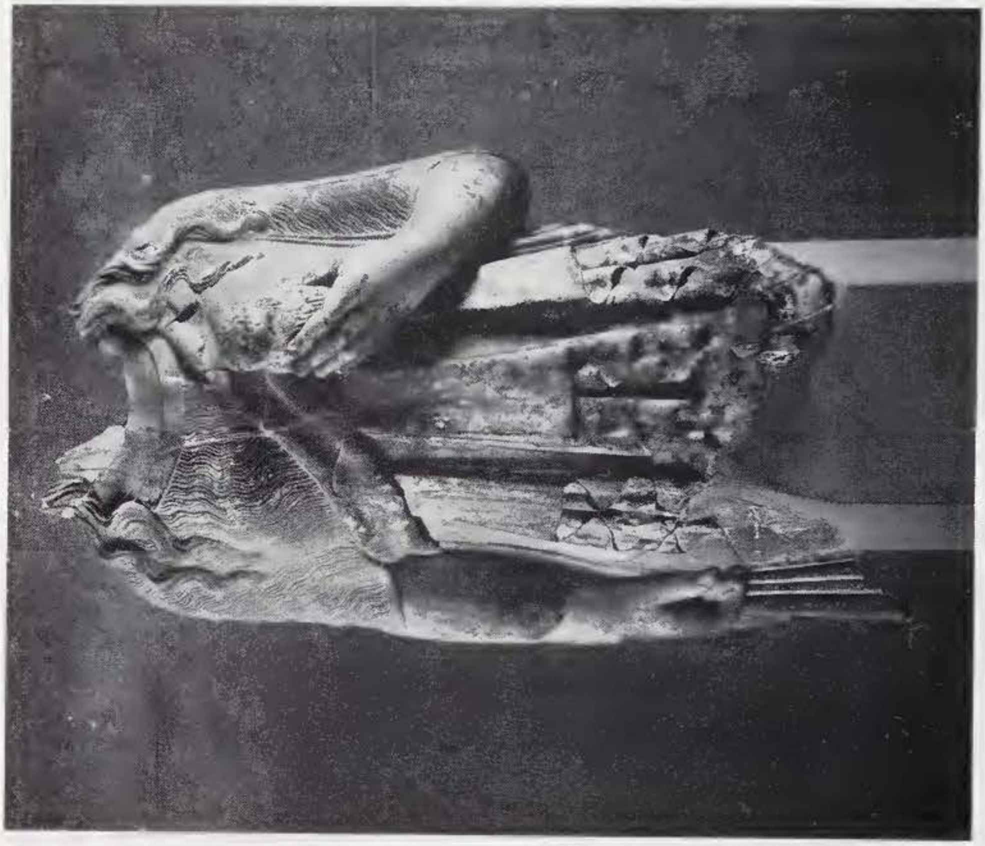
21. Palermo, Museo Archeologico NI1535—Statue of Athena, Cat. 3IC1—[Courtesy, Archaeological Museum of Palermo]
22. Vatican Museums, Galleria dei Candelabri no.155A—Statue of Athena, fragment—Cat. 3IC2—[Author]

23. Paris, Musée du Louvre no.674—Statue of Athena, Cat. 3ID1—[M. Chuzeville photo, reproduced courtesy of Musée du Louvre, Paris]
24. Poitièrs, Musée Municipal—Statue of Athena, Cat. 3IIA1—[Author]

25. Rome, Villa Albani no.970—Statue of Athena, Cat. 3IIC1—[Alinari 27688]

26. Rome, Museo Barracco no.78—Statue of Athena, Cat. 3IIC2—[Alinari 34935]

27. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi no.13—Statue of Athena, Cat. 3IIC3—[Alinari 1264]
28. Munich, Antikensammlung St.10087—Statue of Athena, Cat. 3IIIA1—[Courtesy, Staatliche Antikensammlung und Glyptothek, München]



29. Hamburg, Antikensammlung inv.no.1960.72—Statue of Athena, Cat. 3IIIB1— [Courtesy, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg]
30. Corinth, Museum inv.no.1368—Karyatid in form of Athena, Cat. 3IIIB3—[Courtesy, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations]

CHAPTER FOUR

TYCHE / FORTUNA

Unlike the deities considered previously, the personification Tyche may not have been represented in Archaic times, or, if she was, no evidence exists today concerning her early appearance. Moreover, there is no indication that later artists working in an archaistic style were aware of Archaic Tyche figures which could have served as models for imitation.[1] Both known types of archaistic Tyche representations adapt figures from other contexts and transform them into Tyche through the addition of the cornucopia. This recalls neo-Attic practice, and indeed, both types seem to have originated in the eclectically retrospective environment of the second and first centuries B.C. Since both were common as well in Imperial times, they can properly be considered here as Roman types.

I. Hellenistic "Pergamene" Type

The existence of a Tyche type which so closely corresponds to East Greek works of the second century B.C. prompts a brief reconsideration of the chronological questions raised concerning the Chian sculptor Boupalos.[2] Pausanias (IV,30,6) informs us that Boupalos' Tyche at Smyrna was the first to be shown with polos and cornucopia, and he would be correct if this statue was created by the Archaic Boupalos. If, however, this was the work of Heidenreich's Hellenistic Boupalos, it could hardly have been the first with cornucopia. Aside from Pausanias' remark, there is little if any evidence for Tyche representations before the fourth century B.C., but for that period there is an abundance of literary evidence,[3] and at least one

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[1] As was the case for Athena at least.

[2] See Heidenreich 1935, 691-696. His conclusions were immediately refuted by Rumpf (*AA*, 1936, 52-64), but he did succeed in identifying an eastern Hellenistic strain of archaism. For a more recent discussion: Fullerton 1987, 269.

[3] G. Herzog-Hauser, RE 7A[2] (1948) 1643-1689, especially 1678-1682. Pausanias mentions several wooden images (e.g., Tyche Akraia at Sikyon; II,7,5) and he calls some, "αρχαίον" (e.g. at Pharai in Messenia; IV, 30,3), but those datable by historical association or attribution begin in the fourth century. Praxiteles, for example, made several, including one in Athens (Pliny, NH 36,23) and another in Megara (Pausanias I,43,6). Most famous, of course, were those at Antioch and Alexandria, both early Hellenistic (RE 1684-1686). see also G. Herzog-Hauser, *WienerStudien* 63 (1948) 156-163. F. Hamdorf, *Griechische Kultpersonificationen der vorhellenistische Zeit* (Mainz 1964) 37-39, discusses other early Tyche cults, but for these there is only indirect evidence. Several are postulated on the basis of Pausanias' mention of an old statue, but the existence of archaistic statues of Tyche would justify skepticism with regard to this line of reasoning. The existence of an ancient Tyche cult at Syracuse is based on the mention in late sources of a Tychaion in

actual example on an Attic votive relief.[4] However, the formal relationship between the Tyche types in question and the dancers from the Pergamene palace is very close. If, as has been argued, these dancers are the Charites by a Hellenistic Boupalos, it is very likely that our type does reproduce his Tyche at Smyrna. Pausanias, who may have been aware that there had been a sixth century Boupalos, would then be in error here.[5]

The female figures collected here which hold the cornucopia in the left arm (IA1,2,4,5) may reasonably be identified as Tyche representations. On the two marble figures (Figs.31-32), a trace of a second attribute, probably a rudder, is preserved at the figures' right side; the rudder as a secondary attribute of Tyche is well-known on Roman coins of Alexandria,[6] and occurs earlier on a fourth century Arkadian decree relief.[7] The terracotta type with cornucopia and child (IA3) (Fig.33) has been identified as Aphrodite with Eros[8] or by analogy with the famous group by Kephisodotos the elder, as Eirene with Ploutos.[9] The cornucopia could, however, suggest a connection with Tyche; Pausanias (II,16,2) mentions at least one statue of Tyche with Ploutos at Thebes, and certainly Tyche as bearer of Ploutos is not an obscure concept. On the other hand, depictions on Panathenaic amphorae (of 360/59; archonship of Kallimedes) of a draped female statue holding both cornucopia and child have been interpreted as representations of Kephisodotos' Agora group.[10] These attrib-

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contexts which imply its existence in earlier times. Cicero states that a section of Syracuse was named for Tyche because of the ancient grove of Fortuna there (In Verrem II,4,119). Diodorus (II,68,1) mentions this same area in connection with events of the early fifth century. None of the literary evidence, however, indicates absolutely that Tyche was represented before the fourth century B.C. Tyche may be represented on a late fifth century amphoriskos together with Nemesis: Berlin 30036; ARV^2 1173,1; Heimarme Painter; *RömMitt* 47 (1932) pl.7.4. The identification is based on a partially preserved inscription; the figure has no attribute or other identifying characteristics. the first depiction with cornucopia is on the Athens relief discussed below

[4] Athens NM 1343; Süssserott 1938, 111, pl.17,2

[5] Note, however, that Heidenreich would maintain that it was the Hellenistic works of which Pausanias was aware, while Pliny lists the sculptures by the Archaic Boupalos.

[6] *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum—Alexandria* pl.11. For the rudder as Tyche attribute: RE 1684, 1686; it is here argued that Tyche borrows the rudder from Nemesis with whom she is closely associated. Note the existence of Nemesis figures similar to this type: Fullerton 1987, 269.

[7] From Tegea. H. von Gaertringen, *AthMitt* 36 (1911) 349-360. A group of Roman Tyche-Fortuna statues with rudder and cornucopia reproduces an original which has been placed in the fourth century on the basis of style. See on the Vatican copy: Amelung, Vat-Kat I 101, no.86. There is another replica in Istanbul, Mendel 1912, 356, no. 1117.

[8] Roscher, MythLex I 410.

[9] Heidenreich 1935, 696.

[10] P. Themelis, *AAA* 2 (1969) 409-416. For a more recent find of the type: *Praktika*, 1979, pls. 35-37.

utes are appropriate to either Tyche or Eirene; the terracotta type is thus not definitely identifiable, but it clearly has stylistic links with the Tyche figures.

The male statuettes (IC1-2) are more enigmatic still. These figures have been identified by some as 'Αγαθὸν Δαιμὸν, the masculine counterpart to Tyche.[11] A different interpretation is indicated by a votive relief found on Delos, which shows nearly identical male and female figures with cornucopias; between them is placed an altar on top of which a serpent is coiled.[12] According to Bulard, this serpent represents Agathodaimon, so the male figure must be a different deity; the connection between Tyche and the Hellenistic Isiac cult suggests that Sarapis is represented,[13] an identification which has been carried over to the silver figurine in London (Fig.35).[14] That these pieces share with the standard Sarapis types the kalathos, beard, and long unruly hair would seem to support such an identification.

The general type of Tyche with long diagonal mantle and cornucopia can be traced to the third century Ptolemaic oinochoai which represent the queen as Agathe Tyche. Although the figures on these vases most often wear the chiton with wrapped mantle, a few pieces from the later third century show the mantle fastened at te shoulder rather than wrapped over it.[15] The oinochoe representations show more a vaguely Egyptianizing style than a deliberate archaizing. Therefore the Alexandrian development may account for the occurrence and dispersal of the Tyche type with cornucopia and long diagonal mantle, but the archaistic type represented by the figures collected here is more likely an invention of Hellenistic East Greece.[16]

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[11] RE 1680-1681. Heidenreich 1935, 684. The statuette in Hildesheim was identified as Dionysos by Ippel and Roeder.

[12] M.Bulard, *BCH* 31 (1907) 525-529, fig. 24; Heidenreich 1935, 697-698, fig.16.

[13] On Alexandrian Tyche: RE, s.v. "Tyche" 1682, 1686.

[14] Both Michaelis and Wolters seen this as Sarapis. A seated Sarapis was among the Paramythia bronzes; Kater-Sibbes 1973, 83, on.463. On this find, most recently, W. Hornbostel, *Sarapis, Studien zur Uberlieferungsgeschichte, den Erscheinungsformen, und Wandlungen der Gestalt eines Gottes* (Leiden 1973) 182-183; he sees the group as Hadrianic. Most earlier scholars had classified it as second century B.C. Cf. J. Stambaugh, *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies* (Leiden 1972) 18; he maintains the Hellenistic date and sees the BM silver as a reflection of the Hellenistic Sarapis image at Memphis.

[15] Oinochoe figures with himation: Thompson 1973, 160, no.109 (Arsinoe III; 217-205 B.C.), 161, no.112, (Arsinoe III or Kleopatra I; 217-205 or 193-176 B.C.), 163-164, nos.115-116 (Philopator; 222-205 B.C.), 164-165, nos.117-120 (Berenike; 246-222 B.C.). Those of Berenike are late in her reign or posthumous.

[16] Thompson 1973, 103. It has been suggested that some of these figures are archaistic but Thompson, too, prefers to see them as Egyptianizing. None of these figures are archaistic in the manner of, for example, the Pergamon dancer, although a few traits are shared, like the twisted border. The Agathe Tyche figures also have a certain amount of axiality, but this feature is most likely derived from Isis iconography (cf. Thompson nos. 123-124). The conflation of Tyche and Isis has a long history. It occurs in the third century

The Louvre statuette (IA1), which comes from East Greece, is stylistically similar to other works from this area (Fig.31). The treatment of the himation overfold, with two pleats and catenaries in between, is very close to that of the Pergamene dancer in Istanbul.[17] Even on a very small work like this, the bunch of drapery over the pleat under the left breast is included. The classicizing head, although summary, is a somewhat plumper version of that of the Berlin dancer;[18] the hairstyles are especially similar. The drapery over the legs shows the more static arrangement of Hellenistic Artemis-Hekate figures. The "Eirene" terracotta type (Fig.33), all known examples of which come from Greek Asia Minor, is very close to the Louvre statuette. Although the terracotta type has a turned head and a more animated drapery style, the pose and general pattern of folds are precisely the same. The terracotta is more likely a Hellenistic original; whether the Louvre statuette is Hellenistic or Roman is impossible to say. Note also that the marble figurine has a rudder in the left hand while the terracotta probably held forth a patera.[19] The same general arrangement with two-pleat overfold is represented by the Carmichael bronze (IA5) although the mantle is in this case fastened at the left shoulder and the left leg is advanced. The silver male figure in London (IC1) which also reproduces the Pergamene type with reversal of pose and garment arrangement, is closest in style to the "Eirene" terracotta type but with even more flare and volume to the drapery (Fig.35). Although the leg position, gaze, and drapery of the silver statuette are reversed, the attributes are in the same respective hands as on the terracotta type. This figure may have been designed as a male counterpart to a Tyche figure, as on the Delos relief, and reversed for aesthetic reasons.

The Tyche statue in London (IA2) reflects a variant on the theme (Fig.32). The pose, attributes, garment, and lower drapery arrangement are all basically those of the figures already discussed, but the overfold of the himation has the central pleat arrangement appropriate to Artemis-Hekate. The material and workmanship of this piece indicate that it is of Roman date, but it cannot be dismissed as simply a Roman variant of the type, since the bronze male figurine from Lower Egypt (IC2) and the

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here and in the second century A.C. in an Egyptianizing statue from Hadrian's Villa: G. Botti and P. Romanelli, *Le Sculture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio* (Vatican City 1951) 97-98, no.147, pl.68. The East Greek figures, both Pergamene and Rhodian, show a deliberate archaistic approach which is clearly aware of previous (Attic) archaistic forms. Cf. Fullerton 1987, 265. This conscious archaizing tendency is absent from the Alexandrian style represented on the faience vessels.

[17] Supra p.9 n.46.

[18] Fullerton 1987, 266.

[19] It has been argued by Bulard (supra p.87 n.12) that the rudder occurs only on Roman Fortuna statues, but the Tegea relief shows that it does occur in pre-Roman times.

Gréau terracotta from Smyrna (IA4), both of which are thought to be Hellenistic works, display this same central-pleat style. The terracotta is especially close to the marble statue; the bronze differs largely in being reversed in garment and pose.[20] This type must also reflect a Hellenistic tradition. The provenience of the Gréau terracotta led Heidenreich to believe that it is this central pleat type that imitates Boupalos' Tyche at Smyrna, a view already expressed by Fröhner.[21]

A Hellenistic tradition of archaistic Tyche in East Greek style is seen therefore to exist with two basic variants, one closer to the Pergamene dancers, the other closer to Artemis-Hekate figures. Both variants, however, on the basis of iconography, style, and provenience have their closest connections with Eastern Greece and Ptolemaic Egypt.[22] That the tradition continued through the Roman period is shown not only by the Roman examples of the type (e.g.,IA2), but also in a related Attic type (Fig.34) which shows Tyche as a peplophoros. Three replicas (nos. IB1-3), all found in Athens and all mediocre work, are dated by Harrison to the later second or third century A.C. Although different from the Hellenistic type, certain features seem derived from it: the basic iconography, the pose, the peplos draped to hang high off the ground like a diagonal mantle, the coarse classicizing head, and most notably, the two pleats in the peplos' overfold. The small mantle over the arms, so popular in neo-Attic art, must be an Attic addition. Although the three are close replicas of one another, they may not reflect a large-scale prototype but rather only a conventional and inexpensive votive to this very popular deity.

II. Tyche of Munich Type

The nine works collected in the catalogue (IIA1-9) not only represent the largest group of replicas of a single archaistic statue type, but they also display a remarkable degree of fidelity to that type (Figs.36-39). The garments, the fold pattern of the mantle, the mantle ruffles, the broad V-shaped pleat between the breasts, and the three spiral locks over each shoulder are the same on each copy. The only noticeable variation is in the rendering of the crinkly folds of the chiton. Those of the Pergamon (Fig.39) and Agora replicas are identical; the pattern is extremely regular

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[20] This could be taken as further evidence for the existence of a paratactic group of Tyche and Sarapis/Agathodaimon group in this style.

[21] Cf. Heidenreich 1935, 689-690 for coins of Pergamon and Smyrna representing Tyche.

[22] The style of Artemis-Hekate figure in question is found also on mainland Greece, but is most common in the Eastern Aegean, where it seems to have originated, cf. Fullerton 1987, 261-265.

and carved crisply and distinctly; it recalls without reproducing similar patterns on Archaic sculptures.[23] This rendering on the Munich (Fig.36), Vatican (Fig.38), and Dresden (Fig.37) replicas (respectively) is progressively less sharp and more impressionistic. That the Athens and Pergamon pieces are fully finished in back, while the others are more summarily carved, shows that the sequence is as the chiton folds would indicate and that the Pergamon and Athens replicas should be closer to the original. Other variations in the replicas, e.g. the fluted cornucopia on the Dresden statue, are minor.

Regional distribution of the copies is broad. The Athens and Pergamon pieces were excavated and are of local marble;[24] the Chalkis bronze is further evidence of an acquaintance with the type in Greece. The Munich, Dresden, Vatican, and Terme replicas come from Italian collections and are of Carrara marble. The type seems therefore to have dispersed unchanged throughout the Mediterranean. The original must have been a statue of some prominence, and the distribution of replicas would favor its being located in Athens.

The original of this type has been generally dated to the late Classical era on several grounds. Personifications in general and representations of Tyche with cornucopia in particular can be shown to have first been common in the years following the Peloponnesian War; the wrapped mantle becomes popular for representations of both male and female figures at this same time; the archaistic style itself has been seen by many, following Schmidt, as originating in the fourth century. Schmidt and Herdejürgen postulate a fourth century prototype for the Munich statue *in toto*,[25] while Bulle classifies the type with his early Roman pastiches; he believes the body type is fourth century and the head a Roman portrait. Harrison alone differs significantly from this view. Since the archaistic face is to her an indication of a Hellenistic or later date, she suggests the original may have been an early neo-Attic work.

The standing Tyche with cornucopia and wrapped mantle has been shown to originate in the fourth century, and it occurs again on the third century Ptolemaic oinochoai, but the best parallels for the archaistic type are found on neo-Attic reliefs. The closest female parallel, albeit without cornucopia, is the first figure to the left on the relief signed by Kallimachos in the Capitoline Museum.[26] Aside from the lack of attribute, this figure

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[23] Harrison 1965, 51.

[24] Unfortunately, neither was found in a datable context.

[25] Furtwängler had suggested a fifth to fourth century date.

[26] Supra p.10, Fuchs (1959, 127-128) believes it is a late Hellenistic creation. He shows that Kallimachos is, most likely, an Athenian artist of the first century B.C. His name is known from another inscription. A relief copying two figures from the Kalli-

most differs from the statue type in its broader stride, but this pose is more appropriate to the relief medium. In other respects—garment, fold patterns, drapery style, and coiffure—the representation agrees with the Munich Tyche type exactly. That the figure was already a familiar one in the neo-Attic repertoire is suggested by the accompanying figure to the right on this same relief. The type is basically the same, except that the latter has a totally illogical central pleat system which must be borrowed from a neo-Attic archaistic peplos/himation figure.[27] Male figures similar to the latter (i.e. with central pleat) occur on neo-Attic reliefs but without the chiton. Such a figure with a cornucopia is depicted on one side of a sculptured pier excavated at Corinth; his identity is not certain.[28] Hephaistos bearing an axe and draped similarly occurs on the Four Gods base on the Akropolis.[29]

It is clear, therefore, that the type of the Munich Tyche was with variations a relatively common one in the neo-Attic repertoire. We are left, as is also the case with the Akropolis base, to decide whether the prototype itself was fourth century or late Hellenistic/early Imperial. Several factors favor the latter. The voluminous folds in the crinkly chiton skirt, as has been noted by others, seem not to occur before the Hellenistic era.[30] The chiton folds themselves and the spiral shoulder locks betray a closeness to Archaic formulae which has been seen to characterize Roman archaistic works. Most informative, perhaps, is the archaistic face, a feature which seems to begin in the late Hellenistic period. The face preserved on the Munich statue shows the same combination of Ionian fleshiness with hard classicizing surface treatment that has elsewhere been seen as representing an intermediate stage between the late Hellenistic and late Julio-Claudian head types. Moreover, the hairstyle is close to that of the Tralles Karyatid, a first century B.C. work recently dated to the Augustan era.[31] The crisp and precise rendering of archaistic patterns is another feature shared with Augustan works.[32] Harrison, moreover, has identified one of the fragments from the Agora (IIA6) as Augustan on basis of its workmanship.

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machos relief exists in the Milles collection, but Andrèn has shown that the piece is a modern forgery; Andrèn, *OpRom* 5 (1965) 117-118, pl.40. Also on Kallimachos: Froning 1981, 13 (dates to early Empire).

[27] E.g., the figure third from the left on this same relief.

[28] C. Williams, *Hesperia* 44 (1975) 23-25, 29, pls. 9-10; idem. *Hesperia Suppl. 20* Williams suggests Zeus Chthonios, largely because of the association here with Demeter and Kore. Between the two publications, he changed his mind from an Augustan to a Flavian date. Cf. B. Ridgway, *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 431, n.35; she favors the Augustan date; cf. also, Fullerton 1986b, 213.

[29] Supra p.2.

[30] Harrison 1965, 52. Fullerton 1986b, 208-209, n.7.

[31] Supra p.24.

[32] See especially on the Herculaneum Pallas (3IA).

This may well come from the original since an Attic origin for the type is likely.[33] The general figure type was therefore used for a variety of deities on neo-Attic reliefs during the first century B.C. The statuary type of the Tyche with cornucopia was adapted from the relief type by a neo-Attic sculptor most likely in Athens during the Augustan principate.

Catalogue

I. East Greek Hellenistic Type

A. Tyche with Diagonal Mantle

1. Paris, Musée du Louvre Inv. no. 2571 FIG 31

White Large-grain Marble H: 0.31 m.

Draped female figure stands with right leg very slightly advanced and wears unsleeved chiton with long diagonal himation fastened at right shoulder only and open along the right side. A cornucopia is held in the left arm. Statuette is nearly intact; its right hand, left forearm, right edge of plinth and object (rudder?) at right side are broken away. Of the latter, a trace on the plinth and attachment scar on the right hip are preserved. Acquired 1883. Said to be from the Sporades. Herdejürgen 1968, 87 b)1.

2. London, British Museum Sc 1702 FIG 32

White (Smith:Parian) Marble H: 0.94 m.

Draped female figure standing with right leg slightly advanced and wearing chiton and long diagonal himation fastened at right shoulder. Holds cornucopia in left arm. Remains of attribute preserved along right leg. Head, although ancient, does not go with the body. Also restored are the right arm from the elbow, left forearm with hand and lower section of cornucopia, two toes on each foot, and a portion of each shoulder. Purchased in 1849. Formerly in Blaydes Collection. Smith 1892-1904, III 77, no.1702. Heidenreich 1935, 695, fig.13. Herdejürgen 1968, 87 b)2.

3. Berlin, Staatliche Museen No. 7676 FIG 33

Terracotta H: 0.13 m.

Draped female figure stands with right leg slightly advanced, right

[33] In addition to the aforementioned observations on quality and distribution of replicas, one can add the existence of a derivative type on the Corinth and Akropolis bases—both almost certainly Attic works of the Augustan era—and the identity of Kallimachos as an Athenian.

forearm held down and slightly forward. Left arm holds a cornucopia atop which sits a nude child also bearing a cornucopia. The female figure turns her head slightly to her left and wears a chiton with long diagonal himation fastened at the right shoulder. Fingers of the right hand are broken off. From Asia Minor (Fröehner). Roscher, MythLex I 410. Fröhner 1881, 51, pl.25. Winter 1903, II 170,6. Heidenreich 1935, 696, fig.14. Herdejürgen 1968, 87 b)9. Winter cites two other examples of the type: Izmir, Evangelical School no.439. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum no.644. I have seen neither and am aware of no published photograph.

4. Whereabouts Unknown, formerly Gréau Collection

Terracotta H: 0.15 m.

Draped female figure stands with right leg slightly advanced right arm held down and forward, and head turned slightly to the right. it holds a cornucopia in the left arm. She wears a chiton, long diagonal himation fastened at the right shoulder, and a polos. Three fingers on her right hand are broken away. TAT is inscribed on back. From necropolis at Smyrna. E. Pottier & S. Reinach, *BCH* 7 (1883) 205 n.8. Fröhner 1881, 35-36, pl.14. Winter 1903, II 170,5. Heidenreich 1935, 695. Herdejürgen 1968, 87 b)3.

5. Collection of Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael

Bronze H: 0.095 m.

Draped female figure standing with left leg advanced and wearing chiton with long himation fastened at the left shoulder. Figure holds in left arm a cornucopia, top and bottom of which are broken away. Retains traces of object attached over the head. Right hand once held attribute (rudder?) now lost. *Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition* (London 1904) pl.46 no. A21. Heidenreich 1935, 696. Herdejürgen 1968, 87 b)5.

B. Tyche with Peplos

1. Athens, Agora Excavations S871 FIG 34

Pentelic Marble H: 0.265 m.

Female figure stands with weight on right leg. Her head is turned to the right and she holds a cornucopia in the left arm. She wears a chiton, peplos (unbelted) with long overfold, and small draped mantle. Right forearm, originally dowelled on, is now missing. Otherwise intact. Found in 1937 in a late Roman deposit on N. slope of Aereopagus. H. Riemann, *Kerameikos II* (Berlin 1940) 133. Harrison 1965, 72, no.119, pl.25, also p.54.

2. Athens, Agora Excavations S770

Pentelic Marble PH: 0.15 m.

Statuette of same type as no. B1 above. Preserves section from shoulder to knees. Right forearm, once dowelled on, is now missing. Top of cornucopia broken away. From Agora, no specific provenience. Harrison 1965, 72, no.120, pl.25.

3. Athens, Kerameikos Excavations Ker. 4194b

Fine grain greyish Marble PH: 0.115 m.

Fragment from mid-section of statuette of same type as nos. B1&2 above. Preserves section from below breasts to approximately mid-thigh. The attribute held here may be a torch (Harrison 1965,). H. Riemann, *Kerameikos* II 132-133, no.192, pl.38. Harrison 1965, 72.

C. Related Male Figures

1. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus Museum No. 2267

Bronze H: 0.048 m.

Male bearded figure standing with legs together and wearing chiton and long diagonal mantle fastened at right shoulder. Holds cornucopia in left arm. From Galjub. A. Ippel & G. Roeder. *Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museums zu Hildesheim* (Berlin 1921) 154, no.2267, fig.63. A. Ippel, *Der Bronzfund von Galjub* (Berlin 1922) 37 no.17, pl.3. Heidenreich 1935, 684. Herdejürgen 1968, 88 c)2. Kater-Sibbes 1973, 10, no.52.

2. London, British Museum Silver 6 FIG 35

Silver H: 0.038 m.

Bearded figure standing with left leg advanced, right arm held out with patera, cornucopia in left arm, and head turned slightly to right. He wears a chiton, long diagonal himation fastened at left shoulder, and polos with concave profile. Traces of gilding. Found at Paramythia, 1792. A. Michaelis, *JHS* 6 (1885) 303-305. Walters 1921, pl.6, no.6. W.V. Bissing, *BABesch* 5 (1930) 6, no.1, fig.4,7. Heidenreich 1935, 684, fig.7. Herdejürgen 1968, 87 c)1. Kater-Sibbes 1973, 83, no.464.

II. Tyche in Chiton w/Wrapped Mantle

A. Tyche of Munich Type

1. Munich, Glyptothek IN171 FIG 36

Carrara Marble H: 1.12 m.

Female figure standing frontally with left leg slightly advanced. She wears a long chiton and a mantle wrapped over the left shoulder, around the body and over the left forearm. Cornucopia is held in the left arm; right hand pulls drapery to the side. Head has archaistic face, hairstyle, and spiral shoulder locks. Restorations seen in older photographs (now removed) include: nose, chin, lower lip, section of diadem, both ends of cornucopia, three fingers on each hand. Furtwängler 1900, 52-53, no.49 (w/prev. bibliography); Bulle 1918, 26, no.50, pl.7. Schmidt 1922, 56, pl.9.2. Lippold 1950, 244 n.24. Herdejürgen 1968, 79.

2. Dresden, Skulpturensammlung No.28 FIG 37

Carrara Marble H: 0.1145 m.

Replica of type of statue IIA1, above; differs in rendering of chiton crinkly folds and adds fluting on cornucopia. Head, both ends of cornucopia with adjacent left fingers, right hand with drapery tip are restored. From Chigi collection. W.G. Becker, *Augusteum, Dresdens antike Denkmäler enthaltend* (1804) 78-84. H.Hettner, *Die Bildwerke der königlichen Antikensammlung zu Dresden* (1856) 26-27, no.111. Hermann 1925, no.28. Bulle 1918, 26, n.109. Herdejürgen 1968, 79 n.481.

3. Vatican Museums, Galleria dei Candelabri No.93 FIG 38

Grey-white Marble H: 1.44 m. (restored)

Heavily restored replica of the type of nos. IIA1-2 above. Preserves torso from neck to knees. Restored at present: nose, lips, chin, back of head, and neck (on ancient head which does not go with the body). Also: right forearm, hand and adjacent drapery, left upper arm, forearm, and hand with adjoining drapery and attribute, lower portion from the knees. Lippold 1956, 225-226, pl.104.93. Herdejürgen 1968, 79 n.481.

4. Bergama, Museum FIG 39

White Asiatic Marble

Torso of statue of same type, preserved neck to knees. Head, once worked separately and inset, is missing. Both arms and cornucopia are

broken away. Found in a late Roman cistern at Pergamon. E. Boehringer, in *Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen im Mittelmeergebiet und in vorderen Orient* (Berlin 1959) 149, fig.18. Harrison 1965, 71, pl.63a (back). Herdejürgen 1968, 79, n.481.

5. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano inv.n.593

White Marble PH: 0.26 m.

Fragment preserving shoulders, bust, upper arms and parts of cornucopia of statue of type of nos.1-4, above. Lippold 1956, 226. Herdejürgen 1968, 79 n.481. Giuliano 1981 (v.I,2), 336-337, no. 40, (L. de Lachenal).

6. Athens, Agora Excavations No.S375

Pentelic Marble PH: 0.335 m.

Fragment of statue of type of nos. 1-5, above. Preserves part of back with right shoulder, lower edge of hair in back, mantle folds across back, and small section of mantle border under right armpit. No provenience. found among miscellaneous marbles. Harrison 1965, 51, 71, no.115, pl.24. Herdejürgen 1968, 79 n.481.

7. Athens, Agora Excavations No. S60

Pentelic Marble PH: 0.15 m.

Fragment from head of type represented by no.1, above. Preserves section of back hair, part of three long locks at left, and small portion of left side of neck. Found, 1931, in W. side of Agora, context uncertain. Harrison 1965, 71, no. 116, pl.24. Herdejürgen 1968, 79 n.481.

8. Liverpool, City Art Museum (Formerly Ince no.82)

Pentelic (Ashmole) Marble PH: 0.21 m.

Head of type of statue 1, above presently restored atop a body of Hope type Artemis (supra pp.). Ashmole 1929, 35, no.82, pl.1. Herdejürgen 1968, 79 n.481. She mentions another head replica, unpublished, in Thessalonike.

9. Chalkis, Museum no. 90T

Bronze Statuette of Tyche, same type as represented by nos.IIA1-8. Unpublished, mentioned by Herdejürgen 1968, 79 n.481.

31. Paris, Musée du Louvre inv.no.2571—Statuette of Tyche, Cat. 4IA1—[M. Chuzeville photo, reproduced courtesy of Musée du Louvre, Paris]
32. London, British Museum Sc1702—Statue of Tyche, Cat. 4IA2—[Courtesy, Trustees of the British Museum]

33. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung no.7676—Terracotta statuette of Tyche (Eirene?), Cat. 4IA3—[Courtesy of the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin]

34. Athens, Agora Excavations S871—Statuette of Tyche, Cat. 4IB1—[Courtesy, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations]

35. London, British Museum Silver 6—Cat. 4IC2—[Courtesy, Trustees of the British Museum]

36. Munich, Glyptothek I.N.171—Statue of Tyche, Cat. 4IIA1—[Courtesy, Staatliche Antikensammlung und Glyptothek, München]

37. Dresden, Skulpturensammlung no.28—Statue of Tyche, Cat. 4IIA2—[Courtesy, Skulpturensammlung—Staatliche Kunstsammlung Dresden]

38. Vatican Museums, Galleria dei Candelabri no.93—Statue of Tyche, Cat. 4IA3—[Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom 42-1414]

39. Bergama Museum—Statue of Tyche, Cat. 4IIA4—[Author]

CHAPTER FIVE

SPES

I. *Iconography of Spes*

Like Tyche-Fortuna, with whom she is sometimes closely associated, Spes also arises as the personification of an abstract concept, but she seems to have been much less important in the pre-Roman world.[1] The Greek equivalent of Spes—'Ελπίς—is sometimes found personified in Greek literature, but there is no evidence for a Greek cult of 'Ελπίς nor is she represented in Greek art.[2] Spes, on the other hand, seems to have been one of the earliest personifications to be worshipped as a deity in Rome. Her public worship was established at least as early as the First Punic War when the first Spes temple in the Forum Holitorium was erected by A. Atilius Calatinus.[3] This structure was destroyed at least twice before the early Imperial temple was dedicated by Germanicus in A.D. 17.[4] An earlier Spes cult area just ouside the Porta Praenestina, which probably goes back to the fifth century B.C., is now believed to have been private in nature. Nonetheless this personification must have been treated as a deity at a very early date.[5]

Despite this early evidence for cult activity, our knowledge of the appearance of this personification/deity does not predate the Imperial era and consists almost entirely of coin representations.[6] These begin early in

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[1] The origin and early imperial development of the cult of Spes is now fully treated in Clark 1983, with full bibliography, especially nn.1-2 on p.100. On the association between Spes and Fortuna see his pp. 82, 86 and Latte, "Spes," *RE* 3A^2 (1929) 1635. On the iconography of Spes, also: Hartmann 1976-1980. For Spes types in marble relief: Cain 1985, 116-117.

[2] Clark 1983, 85, 87 and Latte (supra n.1) 1634. This is in strong contrast with Tyche, who, as was shown in chapter 4, had many cults and statues in Greece at least as early as the late Classical period.

[3] In 258 B.C. Clark 1983, 81.

[4] Clark 1983, 96-97, has argued that this last temple, destroyed in 31 B.C., was rebuilt during the Augustan principate but not completed and dedicated until the reign of Tiberius. Parts of the temple remain today; it is identified with the southernmost of three temples built into the church of S. Nicola in Carcere: Platner—Ashby 493-494.

[5] The temple is mentioned by Livy (II,51,2) and Dionysius of Halikarnassos (IX,24,4) in connection with events of 477 B.C. Latte (supra n.1) 1634; Clark 1983, 81.

[6] One statue, once in the Ludovisi collection, can be identified as a Spes on the evidence of the inscription on its base: *Q. Aquilius Dionysius et Nonia Faustina Spem Restituerunt.* T. Schreiber, *Die Antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi im Rom* (Rome 1880) 241-242, no.292; G. Wissowa, *Handbuch d.kl.alt. Wiss.* v.5, pt.4 (1902) 274. While the statue is not available for study and no photographs are published, the descriptions by Schreiber and Wissowa indicate that it is a type of Archaic/archaistic kore. The statue is not included in the recent Terme sculpture catalogue; it is referred to in a table [Giuliano 1983 (v.I,4), 300 no.292]

the reign of Claudius and are found on coins as late as the second half of the third century A.C. Although there is some significant variation in the scheme (considered below) the general type is well established: a kore in chiton and Ionic mantle striding to the left, holding a flower in her right hand and pulling her skirt to the left. This is, of course, the scheme of the well-known Archaic statue type found in many Greek sanctuaries. It has even been suggested that the type used here for Spes is based on an Archaic statue in the Forum Holitorium temple.[7] However, despite the variation in the coin representations, it is clear that in each case there is depicted an archaistic, not an Archaic kore. All coin types include some post-Archaic features which betray their later date of creation and indicate their relationship to the Neo-Attic repertoire of archaistic figure types.

The earliest reverse types depicting Spes occur on bronze coins issued under Claudius in A.D. 41 and 42; these show a draped female striding left with her right leg advanced and the legend SPES AUGUSTA (Fig.40).[8] In this case the figure does not wear the Ionic himation/chiton arrangement usually encountered but a strange amalgam of garments and styles. She seems to wear a long diaphanous chiton with overfold which is more classicizing than archaistic. However, the skirt is pulled to one side in the Archaic gesture and a long section of zig-zag drapery falls down from over the right shoulder in apparent imitation of that feature on the Archaic short diagonal mantle. This mixture of styles recalls Neo-Attic work as does the figure's eloquent outline; the die-cutter shows concern here for legibility within the limitations of this two-dimensional medium. The Spes reverse type is revived in Flavian times, especially under Vespasian; there are now two quite different types, both of which are more thoroughly in imitation of Archaic forms than is the Claudian type. The more common Flavian type (Fig.41) shares with the Claudian type its pose and subsequent distinct and comprehensible outline; it differs in wearing what is clearly shown to be a diagonal mantle and in having a central pleat in its skirt.[9] A second, quite different, Flavian type occurs on

as "statua di Spes." In the volume on Ludovisi marbles now dispersed (v.I,6, 1986, p.300) the concordance identifies Schreiber 292 with cat. no. IX,3; this identification is erronious, since IX,3 is Screiber 318, as listed in the entry under that number.

[7] Clark 1983, 86; Bieber 1961, 182. Yet, this temple is believed to be a third century foundation.

[8] Mattingly 1923-1962 v.I, nos. 124-134, 192-196.

[9] This latter is a common illogical feature of archaistic figures which pull the skirt to one side. Cf. for example the Artemis on the Athens-Delos relief or the Tyche of Munich type. This variant is found on nearly all Flavian *aes* coinage: Mattingly 1923-1962 v.II Vespasian nos. 481, 192, C.208, 679, 703, 711, 719-120, 725-726, 728-729, 737, 748, 868, 874; Titus nos. C.218, 183-186, 214-215, 234, 248, 289, 295-296. The type occurs occa-

a limited series of gold and silver which is clearly meant to bear dynastic propaganda (Fig.42).[10] While dressed like the other Flavian figures in a consistently archaistic garment, this Spes strides left with the left, i.e. foreground, leg advanced. This pose obscures the background leg totally and therefore does not suggest a rendering designed for relief.[11] Both Flavian types continue to occur well down into the third century. No clear pattern of preference emerges; in most eras one or another of the types is favored but seldom enjoys exclusivity. The most significant new development is the appearance on some coins of a variant of the second Flavian type where the skirt is made more clinging so that the background leg is no longer obscured (Fig.43).[12] This would suggest that at least some die-cutters were uncomfortable with this type's unsuitability for relief representation.

The chief question which arises is, of course, what if anything any or all of these coin types may have to do with a cult statue of Spes, which would presumably have stood in the Forum Holitorium temple. Of all the types, the second Flavian type is the only one which looks like it might copy a statue; such a dependency would explain why the die-cutter would

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sionally without the central pleat: Vespasian, nos. 688. 873. Both schemes are found in marble relief: Cain 1985, 116-117, Spes types 1 & 2.

[10] This is suggested by its combination with obverse portraits of Titus and Domitian and the reverse legend *PRINCEPS IUVENTUT*. Mattingly 1923-1962 v.II Vespasian nos. 154-156, 346. This issue makes clear that at least one role of Spes in imperial propaganda is the embodiment of hope in relation to the priceps' designated successor(s). There is some controversy with regard to the intended reference of the Spes types of Claudius. Since the type first occurs in A.D. 41, it could refer to the birth of Britannicus in that year. However, it has also been noted that the day appointed for the worship of Spes, 1 August, was Claudius' own birthday; since the type occurs only in the first two years of his reign, it could be hope for the new emperor which is the intended message. In later times, the type is combined by Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, and Septimius Severus with obverse portraits of their designated successors, but these and other emperors also combine the type with their own portraits. The recent study by Clark (1983) suggests that we may not have to choose. He shows how the concept of Spes developed in the republic as the manifestation of public hope and confidence in leàders, especially young and vigorous generals like Scipio Africanus, Pompey the Great, and Octavian. By extension it then became a virtue of such figures. At the same time, especially in the private sphere, Spes was closely associated with the hope which children offered for their families. During the Augustan principate, Clark argues, these aspects come together to form *Spes Augusta*, which can refer at the same time to the hope offered by the new "golden age" of Augustus and also that embodied in, successively, Marcellus, Gaius and Lucius, Tiberius and Germanicus. The dedication by the last of the rebuilt Spes temple in the Forum Holitorium may be significant in this context. Clark's evidence remains largely literary; the phrase "Spes Augusta" does not occur on extant documents earlier than the Claudian coins.

[11] The left leg is properly advanced, of course, on both Archaic and archaistic korai.

[12] This first occurs under Antoninus Pius and continues into the Severan period. E.g., Mattingly 1923-1962 v.IV Antoninus Pius nos. 960-961, 1001, 2084; v.V Septimius Severus nos. 114, 149-50, 298, 613-614.

create a figure which is clearly unsuited to the two-dimensional medium. This does not necessarily indicate that a cult statue of this type was first set up at that time. The temple would always have had some kind of cult image, and it seems likely that by the time of Germanicus' dedication in A.D. 17, this image would have taken the kore form reflected on the coins of his brother in A.D. 41. There is no evidence for the appearance of any cult images which may have stood in the Republican temples, but the third century foundation date for the cult would seem to preclude the possibility that the Imperial archaistic kore type was set up in imitation of some Archaic predecessor. Just as the concept of Spes Augusta, according to Clark, is a creation of the early principate, so her iconography was probably first firmly established at that same time. This was also a time when, as we saw in the cases of Artemis, Athena, and Tyche above, a number of archaistic figure types were created.[13] Whether the Flavian type indicates some activity at that time in the Spes temple or is simply a variant which imitates more closely a statuary prototype is impossible to say. Neither this type's resemblance to a statue nor the other types' lack of such resemblance is particularly surprising. Coin representations will usually depend on a general iconographic tradition or be but loosely based on a particular prototype. The clarity of the message was far more important than art historical documentation. Moreover, coin types more often copy other coin types than anything else, and the subsequent developments would suggest that such is also the case for Spes. Although they may not provide us with a complete picture of a particular cult statue, what the coins do indicate can be summarized: the iconography of Spes as an archaistic kore holding a flower was established during the early Empire—probably during the reign of Augustus, it inspired a coin reverse type at the beginning of Claudius' reign, this first Spes type is but loosely based on any statuary prototype and is influenced from the Neo-Attic tradition of archaistic reliefs, and the basic image of Spes remains in its essentials unchanged at least until the later third century after Christ, although some coin representations may appear more "statue-like" than others.

Just why Spes came to be shown in an archaistic style is a question which can be but briefly addressed here.[14] In the previous chapters were considered several cases in which the Romans gave deities archaistic form as the result of an archaistic tradition in some cases going back to the fifth century. The actual forms found in the Roman works may have been different from those of the Classical and Hellenistic predecessors, but the

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[13] Zanker 1987, 244, has also recently proposed an Augustan date for the creation of the first archaistic statue of Spes.

[14] Motives for archaizing in general are more thoroughly treated below in chapter 9.

tradition was continuous. Such is not the case for Spes, a deity without representational tradition, so far as we know. Yet she was a deity believed, at least, to have a long-standing status among Roman personifications; perhaps her archaistic form was a form of false pedigree, suggesting the antiquity of her cult. If indeed the iconography is of Augustan origin, one could point to the now familiar fact that archaistic forms were common and apparently popular in the time of this emperor. This is especially significant if the origin of this iconography is to be associated specifically with "Spes Augusta," since the association of Augustan family cults with ancient public cults was a critical aspect of Imperial propaganda.[15] The archaistic style may have been chosen here as in the decoration of the Palatine Apollo sanctuary to create a image of venerability. One obvious fact, that she is so closely related to the also archaized Fortuna, is not really an explanation since we should then have to determine why Fortuna is archaized, but it is a clue. Both deities are intended to be beneficent, and the use of so formalized a style may be intended to "fix" good fortune and thus make it less elusive. One could compare the use of archaism to immobilize the apotropaic hekataion.[16] Also like Hekate, Tyche and Spes have much to do with the unknown outcome of future events and the stability of the style may have given them an enhanced quality of predictability and reliability.

Two classes of statuary are treated here. One group of archaistic korai is identified on the basis of a general adherence to the Spes scheme as it is known from coins. None of the marble statues preserves its attribute, so we cannot be absolutely sure if any was intended to represent Spes. Even if the attribute were preserved, there would be no assurance that a Spes was intended, since a Roman archaistic kore may sometimes have been an anonymous votive like its Archaic predecessor or even just a decorative curiosity in a Roman garden. Yet, since the Spes iconography is known from the coins, it seems best to treat such statues as potential representations of that personification. The second group is comprised of a few korai which technically share the iconographic traits of the Roman Spes figures but which are so close to Archaic works that they have often been called copies or even been mistaken for Greek originals. They probably have nothing to do with Spes, but since their separation from the first group is to a certain degree arbitrary they would seem to be most appropriately considered here. Other anonymous draped archaistic figures are considered in chapter 8.

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[15] For example, the Palatine Vesta cult and the Lares Augusti. See on this Fullerton 1985, 478-481 w/bibliography.

[16] Cf. Fullerton 1986, 673.

II. Spes Statues

The Roman archaistic statues discussed in previous chapters have for the most part been eclectic creations in which elements of Classical and Hellenistic archaistic figure types are freely combined with direct imitations of Archaic features. The Roman Spes statue is in a way the reverse of that. The form, pose, and garment are essentially Archaic; the post-Archaic date reveals itself through anomalies in overall style and particular details. These statues are therefore especially difficult to place chronologically within the Imperial era. Carving technique and signs of influence from later styles offer some clues, but any system of development is speculative. The statues are here presented roughly in decreasing order of similarity to true Archaic pieces.

The Vatican and Milles korai (A1&2) are closest of all to Archaic work; the former (Fig.44) might even have been included in the following section on so-called copies.[17] This piece displays all the Archaic traits proper to the type and several features which are decidedly non-Archaic. There is no indication of fastening on the mantle, the finished chiton seam is misunderstood as a pleat (which even terminates in a swallowtail pattern), and the crinkly chiton folds are more simplified than those found on Archaic work. While such details could be attributed to a copyist, the soft, "doughy" carving style reminiscent of Severe sculptures is too pervasive in the drapery renderings to be considered a copyist's alteration. Like the Spes coin representations, this is an Archaic type rendered in a post-Archaic style. On the Milles kore (A2), the chiton crinkles have become true plastic folds, the himation ruffles and pleats have lost their linear parallel nature, and the skirt folds from right leg to left hand disappear when flattened over the left thigh. Moreover its proportions are slenderer than on Archaic works, especially at the hips. Of the statues collected here, these two are the closest to the "statuary" Spes type represented on Flavian precious metal issues.[18]

Still less consistent with Archaic stylistic features is the Spes in the Conservatori. The chiton folds are not unlike those on the Milles kore, but the

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[17] Lippold says explicitly that the statue is not archaistic but an imitation of an Ionian Archaic work. Similar to these two statues is a pair of bronze statuettes in the Bibliothèque Nationale: a) Babelon & Blanchet 1895, no. 265; Bulle 1918, 14, no.26, pl.3. b) Babelon & Blanchet 1895, no.323. Both wear odd floral headdresses which suggest that they may be representations of Isis in the guise of Spes or some other Romano-Egyptian creation. Another bronze statuette, in the British Museum (Walters 1899, no.192, pl.1, from the Castellani Collection: Bulle 1918, 14, no.25, pl.3), which is very close to Bibliotheque Nationale no.265, has been identified as a modern forgery. Hartmann 1976-1980, 184.

[18] The Vatican kore is the closer, cf. especially the ruffled himation border, the form of the chiton sleeve over the left arm, and the sharply articulated zig-zag drapery pattern hanging from the right arm.

himation is far more deeply carved with a multiplication of many narrow folds arranged in a roughly Archaic scheme of pleats. The impression created is that of an Archaic kore recreated to appeal to the baroque taste for chiaroscural effects which prevailed in Hellenistic and Roman times.[19] The drapery of the Borghese statue (A4) is far more plastically rendered than that of the Conservatori piece. A noteworthy feature here is the confusion of garment. The rendering over the legs shows clearly that a long himation is worn over the chiton, but the overfold is given the form of a short diagonal mantle. Similar in this respect is the statue from Perge in Antalya (A5). The Perge statue dates from the second century A.C. as does, most likely, the Borghese statue as well. These statues would seem to derive from the Spes type, as represented by the statues (A1-3) discussed above; the change to the long mantle should reflect influence from other archaistic works.

Yet another development in the intrusion of non-Archaic features can be seen on the Berlin (Fig.45), Nîmes (Fig.46), Louvre, and Dresden (Fig.47) statues (A6-9). All these figures are draped in the chiton and long diagonal mantle with overfold, but in this case the overfold is not treated, as above, like a short Ionic mantle. Its inverted V-shape is a proper archaistic overfold treatment, but for the peplos, not the diagonal mantle. Here there must be some influence from an archaistic peplophoros type, e.g. the Artemis-Hekate, or some other figure also influenced from this type.[20] A second feature which differentiates these is the central skirt pleat which, as we saw above, is inconsistent with the logic of the skirt-pulling gesture and with Archaic practice. It occurs on some Spes figures on coins from the Flavian era onwards. These statues also show the essentials of the Spes type: diagonal ruffle, zig-zag pattern hanging from the right arm, and skirt pulling gesture, but they vary among themselves considerably. The Nîmes statue (A7) (Fig.46) differs from the other three in standing with its weight primarily on the right leg; such a suggestion of contrapposto is rare in archaistic figures; the Archaic stiff-legged stride shown by the other figures is by far the most common pose. The Dresden statue (A9) (Fig.47) differs from the others in having its right leg advanced, rather than the left. It is also unique among all figures considered

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[19] A fact which could help support Bulle's Hadrianic date for the statue, since such tastes were especially prevalent at that time, as were tastes for the archaistic style itself.

[20] The Minerva of Poitiers, for example, also wears a diagonal mantle with an overfold treatment typical of the archaistic peplos. Strictly speaking, we cannot be sure that the Nîmes statue is wearing the long diagonal mantle, since there are not two layers of cloth indicated at the skirt hem. However, the rendering of the overfold is most similar to those of the other three statues mentioned here and thus the skirt of the Nîmes figure is best understood as yet another variation on the type.

in this chapter in that its mantle is fastened at the shoulder only and hangs open along the right side; this is of course the proper rendering for the long diagonal mantle with overfold, found as a rule on Hellenistic archaistic figures, but it is not proper to the Spes type seen on coins and the other statues. The carving style of this statue is far more flat and schematized than that of the other statues without looking particularly more Archaic; it seems a simplification and, perhaps, confusion of the general figure represented by the other three. The shoulder locks of the Louvre and Dresden statues show a common Archaic and archaistic feature which is not, however, found on any other Spes representations. In general the drapery patterns of these figures represent variation on a general theme. The skirt drapery of the Louvre and Borghese statues are somewhat similar to one another; that of the Berlin statue (Fig.45) is close to Hellenistic renderings. All four have pronounced diagonal mantle borders, three have ruffle patterns, yet all are different. One very peculiar feature is the drapery encircling the right breast of the Louvre statue; this reflects a late Classical/Hellenistic mannerism which does not occur elsewhere on archaistic figures.

The statues collected here, like the coin types themselves, display considerable variety in the treatment of the Spes type, yet there are some basic features which connect them to one another as to the coin types themselves. The question of prototype is no more fully elucidated by these statues than it was by a consideration of the coins. This question has been raised by others who do believe that the coins reflect the cult statue in Germanicus' temple in the Forum Holitorium.[21] However, the question of *which* coin type most closely resembles this putative prototype has not been answered adequately. It is clear that the type seen on the Flavian gold and silver coinage *looks* the most like a statue; why then is this type not found on the earlier coins of Claudius, especially since the statue, it is assumed, was dedicated by this emperor's beloved late brother? We may have to be satisfied to learn that Spes was in Roman art associated with the archaistic kore and that considerable variation was possible.

A second question, the relative arrangement of these statues, can for reasons pointed out above only be tentatively addressed. If we assume that the type originates with a an archaistic kore relatively similar to Archaic examples,[22] then the Vatican and Milles (A1&2) korai would stand at the head of the sequence. The Conservatori kore (A3) differs from these more

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[21] Bulle 1918, 13; Bieber 1961, 182.

[22] This is a common assumption not necessarily substantiated by the coin evidence—the coins of Claudius show the least Archaic-looking figures of all. Almost certainly no actual statue was used as a source of inspiration until Flavian times, if then.

in its drapery style than in actual garment arrangement. The Borghese and Antalya (A4&5) statues substitute the long diagonal mantle while maintaining the form of the Ionic himation in their overfolds. The Berlin, Nîmes, Louvre, and Dresden statues (A6-9) stray still further from Archaic convention with their central skirt pleat and peplos-like overfold arrangement. The Nîmes and Dresden pieces may well be provincial versions of the type. Even if this stylistic sequence could be read as a clue to a relative chronology of statues, it would be more hazardous still to attach absolute dates. Proveniences are either unknown or of no value.[23] None of the figures displays the linear precision in the rendering of pattern which has been seen in earlier chapters to characterize early Imperial archaistic sculpture,[24] and most seem to bear technical and stylistic features with works of the second century A.C. A date for the Vatican and Milles korai in the later first century and a date in the second century for the others can on these grounds be suggested, but these dates must remain subject to revision if further evidence should emerge. The most important observations might be the relative independence of these statues from a particular model and that the features which vary from statue to statue are drawn from a variety of sources including Archaic works, Classical and Hellenistic styles, and other archaistic sculptures both Hellenistic and Roman. As we have seen in the case of other deities this combination of the derivative and the creative is typical of archaistic statuary from Roman Imperial workshops.

III. "Copies" of Archaic Korai

These nine Roman statues are so close in style and details to true Archaic works that each one has at some time been called a copy of an Archaic kore.[25] Probably because it is carved from what is apparently Greek marble, the kore in the Villa Albani (B5) has been assessed as either a Greek Archaic work (von Steuben) or as an original Early Classical archaistic creation (Bulle). Others (e.g. Bonacasa Carrà) have recognized this mixture of Classical and Archaic features as more typical of Roman works. The remainder of the group are carved in Italian marble or display signs of Roman workmanship; these are thus commonly held to be copies.

The Guicciardini (B1) (Fig.48) and Rodin (B2) (Fig.49) statues repro-

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[23] The Perge statue was found in a second century context, and has for stylistic reasons been associated above with Hadrianic work.

[24] E.g. Herculaneum Athena, Pompeii Artemis.

[25] Or in the case of the Albani statue an Archaic original; cf. below. Since each is a female wearing a chiton and short Ionic mantle and pulling the skirt to the left, this part of the description is omitted from the catalogue entries.

duce the same type.[26] Their drapery patterns correspond fold for fold as do the shape and location of the shoulder locks, the type and design of the chiton folds, and the patterning of the long hair in back. The differences between the two are no greater than can be attributed to the copyist's hand.[27] The Castelporziano kore (Fig.50) differs from these two only in minor details.[28] Its mantle border is concave rather than flat and the more diaphanous treatment of its mantle which allows pleats to show through adjacent overlapping pleats creates a more linear appearance overall.

A variation of this type with four rather than three shoulder locks is represented by the Palermo (Fig.51) and Albani korai (B4-5). The former is less close to Archaic style than the three statues above. Its skirt folds, especially where converging near the left hand, are more plastically rendered and less schematic and the chiton folds are more broadly spaced than the tightly packed crinkles on the garments of statues B1-3. The Albani statue, on the other hand, displays a close affinity to Archaic works, especially in the incised linear treatment of its skirt folds, the "ribbon candy" form of its shoulder locks, and its slanted rather than vertical himation pleats. Its archaistic face is not exactly like any of those discussed above, although it is much closer to the classicizing Imperial style than to the fleshy, Ionian late Hellenistic/Republican style.

Three more statues (B6-8) resemble the first group in type, including the three shoulder locks, but they differ primarily in having a decorated diagonal himation border. The Munich piece (B6) (Fig.52) is especially close and most resembles the Castelporziano kore in style. Its drapery pattern is consistent with the type both in front and back, although the mass of hair hanging down in back is rendered in a looser and wavier style. The Boston kore (Fig.53) is similar in both drapery pattern and style; the linear patterning of its himation pleats is even more exaggerated than on the Munich statue and its himation border falls in a more lively plastic pattern of zig-zags. Its treatment in back is especially close to that of the Rodin kore. The Sant'Alessio kore (B8) (Fig.54) is of the same type except that its himation border falls in ruffle pattern instead of a zig-zag. This may well reflect a direct borrowing from genuine Archaic korai.[29]

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[26] As recognized by Herdejürgen.

[27] The folds of the Guicciardini kore show somewhat more plasticity and its skirt seems to be pulled slightly farther from the body. The pattern of incised lines on the diagonal mantle border in back is slightly different.

[28] As recognized by Paribeni.

[29] Cf., e.g., Richter 1968, nos. 124 (Akr. 594) and 127 (Akr. 674). The Vatican fragment belongs with this group, of course, but since only the legs are preserved, it is impossible to tell which kore it originally most closely resembled. Lippold associates it with the Sant'Alessio kore (B8).

The identification of all these korai as Roman archaizing creations is proposed by both Bianchi-Bandinelli and Bonacasa-Carrà, who base their conclusions ultimately on Becatti's definition of *stile arcaizzante* as an empty and superficial imitation of Archaic sculpture in the round. Bianchi-Bandinelli isolates specific features which indicate to him that the Guicciardini piece displays archaizing style rather than being a true copy of an Archaic original. For example, the chiton folds are colder and more calligraphic than on Archaic korai and the modelling of the skirt folds is much more substantial and plastic. Also mentioned as a non-Archaic trait is the pleat falling below the right arm from which continues a double zig-zag pattern.[30] Such comparison of these statues with true Archaic pieces is not especially informative. Clearly they are close to Archaic works in many ways, but there are some significant differences which are just as obvious. If these differences are minor enough to be attributable to a copyist, then the works can all be classed as true copies. If, on the other hand, the differences are seen to reflect a very different style and approach, then the statues must be classified as archaistic creations. This is a familiar problem in the study of Roman copies and imitations of Greek works of all eras; solutions are in many cases subjective.

Comparison of the statues among themselves is more revealing. The korai are all very similar to one another, yet the variations that do exist are sufficiently mixed to preclude the isolation of either a single prototype or even consistent groups of replicas. Moreover, the features which differ among the statues are most often genuine Archaic traits rather than those intrusions from later styles which frequently betray the copyist's hand. It is clear that this group of korai consists of several variations on a central theme; that theme is the close and deliberate imitation of the Archaic kore type; whether we deem the imitation precise enough to warrant the classification as copy is a matter of opinion.

In the context of this study, what is most striking is that such a close and deliberate imitation of Archaic is highly unusual. We have seen that there is a more or less clear archaistic development from the Classical through the Hellenistic styles. Roman pieces sometimes imitate a previous archaistic style; more often they combine elements of previous archaistic styles with elements of other styles and with individual traits der-

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30 This same feature is mentioned by Ridgway as an archaistic feature of the Athena-pig sacrifice relief, but it does occur on Archaic work. Ridgway 1977, 309; cf. Richter 1968, no.123.

31 A statue now lost and once in the Hope collection may have been a copy of an Archaic kore in a different form: Waywell 1986, 79-80 no.17. It is not clear from drawings whether the statue is a heavily restored Archaic statue or a Roman creation as Michaelis had suggested; Michaelis 1882, 284-285 no.12.

ived from Archaic prototypes. Since this thorough imitation of an Archaic type is so unusual, it would seem that there must have been a specific reason for it.[31] Perhaps these korai were carved by a Roman artist following Archaic prototypes and were intended to be passed off as Archaic originals, such as has been suggested for a very different type of statue—the bronze Apollo from Piombino.[32] What beyond purely academic antiquarianism would have prompted a demand for such creations is for now an open question.[33] Nonetheless, this seems the reasonable explanation for this odd and deliberate imitation of an Archaic type.

Catalogue

A. Spes Statues

1. Vatican Museums, Galleria dei Candelabri No. 135A FIG 44

White marble PH: 0.62 m.

Archaistic kore wearing long chiton and short Ionic mantle fastened along right shoulder and upper arm. The figure stands with left leg advanced, holds right arm forward and pulls skirt to the side with left hand. Preserves torso from neck to knees. Right arm is broken off at mid-forearm, and the right knee is broken away. Lippold 1956, 114, no.16, pl.55 (w/previous bibliography). Helbig[4] I 553 (W. Fuchs). Bonacasa-Carrà 1974, 145-146, nn.38,42, fig.15.

2. Lidingö (Sweden), Carl Milles Collection

Large-grain white marble PH: 0.73 m.

Archaistic kore wearing long chiton and short Ionic mantle fastened along right shoulder and upper arm. She stands with left leg slightly advanced, holds her right arm bent forward from the elbow, and pulls skirt to the side with the left hand. Head and neck, right forearm and hand, left arm from sleeve edge, and legs from level of knees are broken away. Purchased in Rome. A. Andrén, *OpRom* 5 (1965) 112, no.38, pl.35.

3. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori Inv. 990

Carrara Marble PH: 0.88 m.

Archaistic kore wearing thin chiton and short diagonal mantle fastened

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[32] Ridgway, AntPl 7 (1967) 70-71

[33] For an elaboration of these theories, see chapter 9. I would doubt any connection with Spes, which in every case displays a much greater element of Classical and Hellenistic styles.

along right upper arm. She stands with left leg advanced, holds right forearm forward and pulls skirt to the left. Head, right upper arm, right forearm and hand and legs from knees down are all broken away. Found in 1873 built into a wall on the Viminal. *BullComm* 1 (1873) 291, no.32. G. Ghirardini, *BullComm* 9 (1881) 144, pl.5. Bulle 1918, 15, no.27, pl.2. Stuart-Jones 1926, 208, no.1, pl.80. S. Bocconi, *Collezione Capitolini* (Rome 1950) 216, no.1. Helbig[4] II no.1511 (H. v.Steuben).

4. Rome, Galleria Borghese No.66

Carrara Marble

Archaistic kore wearing sleeved chiton and long diagonal himation with overfold. She stands with left leg advanced, right forearm held forward, and pulls skirt to the left. Portrait head does not go with the body. Both forearms are also restored. EA 2724 (Arndt & Lippold). R. Calza, *Galleria Borghese, Collezione di oggetti antichi* (Rome 1957) 14, nos. 139-140. P. della Pergola, *La Galleria Borghese a Roma* (Rome 1954) 8.

5. Antalya, Archaeological Museum

White marble

Archaistic kore wearing chiton and long diagonal himation with overfold. She stands with left leg advanced and pulls her skirt to the left. Statue is almost completely preserved, including inscribed plinth/ base. Missing are head, right hand, left forearm and hand, and a small part of each foot. Ends of three long locks are preserved on each shoulder. Found at Perge. Unpublished.

6. Berlin, Staatliche Museen No. 284 FIG 45

Carrara Marble PH: 0.96 m.

Archaistic kore wears long thin chiton and long (?) diagonal himation, the overfold of which behaves exactly like a short Ionic mantle. She stands with left leg advanced, right forearm bent forward, and the skirt is pulled to the side by the left hand. Right forearm, once attached separately, is now missing. Classicizing head does not go with the body. Also restored: left forearm and hand with adjacent drapery, left foot, left section of plinth. From Rinaldi Collection; purchased 1841. *Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen* (Berlin 1891) no.284; Bulle 1918, 16, no.30, pl.4.

7. Nîmes, Maison Carré FIG 46

Fine grain white Marble PH: 1.20 m.

Archaistic kore wearing chiton and short diagonal mantle fastened along right shoulder and upper arm. She stands with left leg advanced; the right arm is bent forward from the elbow and somewhat to the right side; the skirt is pulled to the left. Head, right arm from elbow, left arm from mid-forearm, left hand with adjacent drapery, and section of drapery flanking right thigh are all broken away. Formerly Perrot Collection; found at Villevielle (Gard). *EA* 1409 (Joubin).

8. Paris, Musée du Louvre

Carrara Marble H: 0.80 m.

Archaistic kore wears chiton and short himation. She stands with left leg advanced, pulls skirt to the left, and holds right forearm forward. Head, both forearms, and feet with plinth and lower drapery are restored. Flat long locks preserved on each shoulder. Unpublished.

9. Dresden, Skulpturensammlungen Inv. ZL 1124 FIG 47

Marble PH: 0.585

Archaistic kore in chiton and long diagonal mantle fastened at right shoulder. She stands with right leg advanced slightly and grasps skirt drapery in left hand. Flat shoulder locks are preserved on each shoulder. Head and neck, right arm, drapery under left hand, and fronts of both feet are broken away. Herrmann 1925, 17, no.29.

B. "Copies" of Archaic Kore

1. Florence, Palazzo Guicciardini FIG 48

Marble PH: 0.82 m.

Kore as described; head, right arm, left arm, hand and adjacent drapery, and legs from knees down are broken away. *EA* 4097 (A. Neppi Modona). A. Minto, *Dedalo* 2 (1921-1922) 230-239. Bianchi-Bandinelli 1941, 91-96, figs. 1-7. Lippold 1950, 93, n.16. Herdejürgen 1968, 53.

2. Paris, Musée Rodin Inv. 55 FIG 49

Carrara Marble PH: 0.80 m.

Kore as described; head, right arm, shoulder, and breast, and left arm, hand, and adjacent drapery, and legs from mid-thigh are all broken away.

Dowel holes indicate that the piece was once restored either in antiquity or modern times. *Rodin Collectionneur* (Paris 1967-1968) no.145. Herdejürgen 1968, 53, pl.8c.

3. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano inv.n.30067 FIG 50

Greek Marble (Paribeni) PH: 0.75 m.

Kore as described. Head, right arm, left arm, hand and adjacent drapery, and legs from below the knees are all broken away. Surface chipped. From Villa Reale at Castelporziano. *EA* 1368 (Arndt). *BdA* 1 (1907) VII, 18. E. Paribeni, *Museo Nazionale Romano, Sculture del 5° Secolo* (Rome 1953) 46-47, no.76. Richter 1968, 110, figs. 675-678. Herdejürgen 1968, 53-55. Helbig[4] III 2196 (P. Zanker). Giuliano 1979 (v.I,1), 26-27, no.26 (D. Candilio).

4. Palermo, Museo Nazionale NI1536 FIG 51

Carrara Marble PH: 1.20 m.

Kore as above. Head, although ancient, does not pertain to this body. Restorations: neck and back of head, right forearm and hand, left arm from sleeve, legs from below knees. From Rome; same provenience as Palermo Athena (3IC1). Bonacasa-Carrà 1974, 144-146, figs. 5-8. Herdejürgen 1968, 53-54.

5. Rome, Villa Albani No. 975

Large-grained Marble H:1.13 m.

Kore as above. Restored: nose, left arm and shoulder, left hand and adjacent drapery, right forearm and hand, free ends of two long sections of hanging drapery, feet with plinth. Diadem broken off. Surface chipped. *BrBr* 651. Bulle 1918, 12, no.12, pl.3. Bianchi-Bandinelli 1941, 91,96. Lippold 1950, 93. A. Giuliano, *ArchCl* 6 (1954) 17-22. Bonacasa-Carrà 1974, 145, fig.13. Helbig[4] II (H. v.Steuben).

6. Munich, Glyptothek Inv. no. 173 FIG 52

Carrara Marble PH: 1.47 m.

Kore as above; zig-zag pleats on diagonal border. Right forearm, once dowelled on, is missing. Head and legs from knees down are broken off. Purchased in Rome from Vescovali Collection. Furtwängler 1900, 55-57, no.51. Herdejürgen, 1968, 53, pl.8a-b.

7. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts Inv. 23.1 FIG 53

Italian Marble PH: 1.15 m.

Kore as above with loosely rendered zig-zag pleats on himation border. Right forearm, once dowelled on, is missing. Head, right shoulder, arm and hand with adjacent drapery, lower legs and feet all broken away. Part of a tree-trunk strut is preserved behind the left leg. Purchased in Paris; formerly in Naples. Comstock and Vermeule 1976, 137, no.214 (w/previous bibliography) to which add: Heidenreich 1935, 679, n.3. Herdejürgen 1968, 53.

8. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori Inv. 986 FIG 54

Italian Marble PH: 0.855 m.

Kore as above; heavy vertical ruffles on himation border. Head, both arms, legs from knees down all broken away. Surface chipped. Found in 1750 near S. Alessio (on the Aventine). G. Ghirardini, *BullComm* 9 (1881) 106-164, pl.9. Stuart-Jones 1926, 214, no.7, pl.80. Heidenreich 1935, fig.2. Bianchi-Bandinelli 1941, 91-96, fig.8. Richter 1968, 110, figs. 679-681. Helbig[4] II 1510 (H. v.Steuben). Bonacasa-Carrà 1974, 145-146, n.37, fig.14.

9. Vatican Museums, Galleria dei Candelabri 124 (A) FIG 55

White Marble PH: 0.705 m (w/plinth)

Lower section of kore as above. Preserves legs, feet, and plinth; right half of right thigh, and front of left foot and plinth are broken away. Lippold 1950, 93 n.16. Lippold 1956, 230, no.3, pl.108.

40. Sestertius of Claudius (A.D. 41-42)—[Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society, New York]

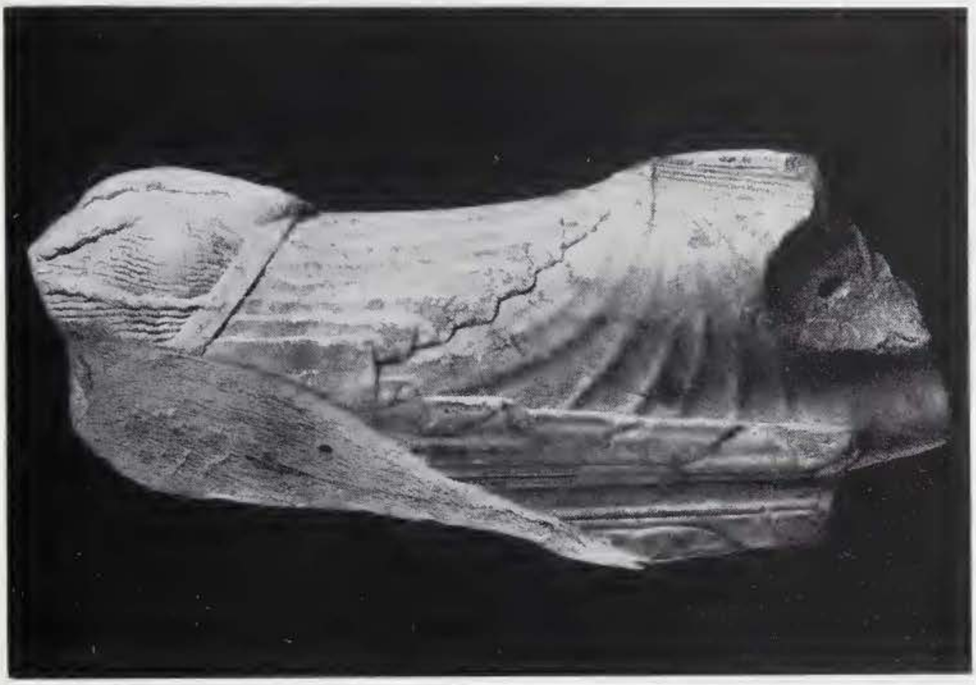
41. As of Vespasian (A.D. 76-78)—[Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society, New York]

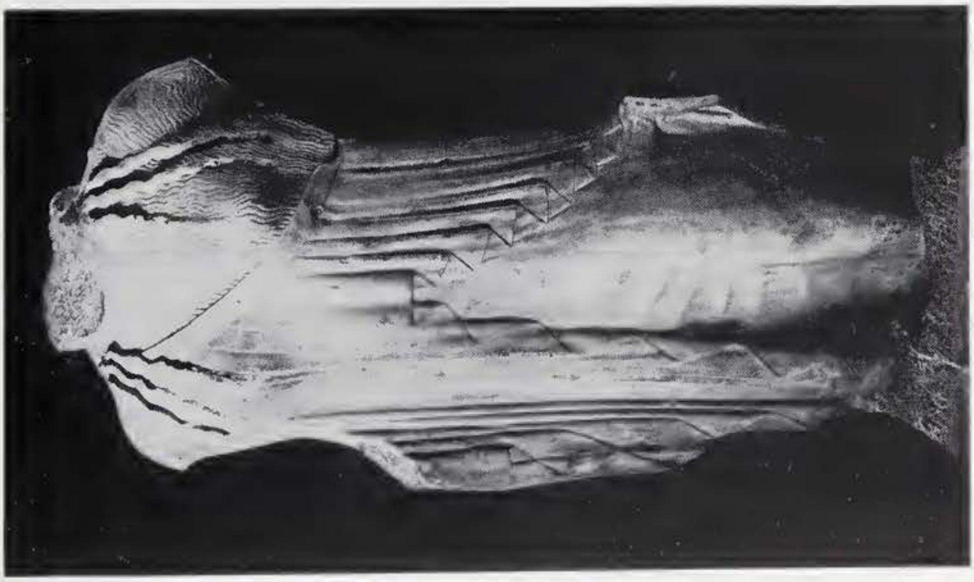
42. Denarius of Domitian (Reign of Vespasian, A.D. 74)—[Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society, New York]

43. As of Marcus Aurelius (Reign of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 158-159)—[Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society, New York]

44. Vatican Museums, Galleria dei Candelabri no.135A—Archaistic Kore, Cat. 5A1—[Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom 41-917]
45. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung no.284—Archaistic Kore, Cat. 5A6—[Courtesy of the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin]

46. Nîmes, Maison Carré—Archaistic Kore, Cat. 5A7—[Museum photo]
47. Dresden, Skulpturensammlungen inv.ZL1124—Archaistic Kore, Cat. 5A9—[Courtesy, Skulpturensammlung—Staatliche Kunstsammlung Dresden]





48. Florence, Palazzo Guicciardini—Archaistic Kore, Cat. 5B1—[Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom EA5097]
49. Paris, Musée Rodin inv.55—Archaistic Kore, Cat. 5B2—[Courtesy, Musée Rodin, Paris]

50. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano inv.n. 30067—Archaistic Kore, Cat. 5B3—[Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom 76.2036]
51. Palermo, Museo Nazionale NI1536—Archaistic Kore, Cat. 5B4—[Courtesy, Archaeological Museum of Palermo]

52. Munich, Glyptothek Inv.no.173—Archaistic Kore, Cat. 5B6—[Courtesy, Staatliche Antikensammlung und Glyptothek, München]
53. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts Inv.23.1—Archaistic Kore, Cat.5B7—[Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston]

54. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori Inv.986—Archaistic Kore, Cat. 5B8—[Alinari 27199]
55. Vatican Museums, Galleria dei Candelabri 124(A)—Archaistic Kore, Cat. 5B9—[Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom 35-131]

CHAPTER SIX

DIONYSIAC FIGURES

Dionysos/Bacchus is the male deity most commonly archaized in Hellenistic and Roman times, and the style frequently is extended to such related figures as maenads, satyrs, seasons, and Priapos. Moreover, the pre-Roman archaistic tradition for these figures may not be limited to two-dimensional media, as will be seen below. However, neither the chronology nor the stylistic nature of the pre-Roman archaistic development is so clear in the case of Dionysiac subjects as it is for Athena and Artemis, the only other deities so frequently archaized.

The date of the earliest archaistic Dionysos representation is a point of some disagreement which has traditionally revolved around two neo-Attic relief types: the Louvre-Freiburg type of Dionysos with four Horai and the Pourtalès-Gorgier type of Dionysos with three unidentified "maidens." While the former, it is generally agreed, should be early Hellenistic in origin, the latter has been dated to either the fourth century or the second century B.C.[1] The second century date is favored here for reasons argued in detail elsewhere,[2] but the point may be incidental to the question at hand if the round base found at Brauron is, as Fuchs argues, a late fifth century creation.[3] This fragmentary and only partially published monument seems to bear an archaistic representation of Dionysos and thus raises the possiblility that the archaistic tradition for this god may originate in the High Classical period, as is also the case for Athena, Artemis-Hekate, and Hermes. We can in any case be sure that such a tradition existed by the early Hellenistic period.[4]

The material is presented here in two groups. The first includes statues of Dionysos and Dionysiac figures which are stylistically related to the ar-

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[1] For these two types: Havelock 1964, 51-58; Fuchs 1959, 51-59; *LIMC* III (1986) 473, nos. 596-597 (C. Gasparri). Cain 1985, 107 Dionysos types 2 &3. Havelock's case for the later date (following Becatti) is convincing; Fuchs and Gasparri adhere to the fourth century date favored by the majority of scholars since Schmidt.

[2] Fullerton 1987, 275-276. This is in agreement with Harrison's late date for the Akropolis four-gods base, which bears a similar type. Cf. supra ch.1, pp.11-13.

[3] W. Fuchs, *Boreas* 7 (1984) 79-81. Fuchs (p.80) suggests that the Dionysos figure here relates to the Braschi type (IIC) and that its inclusion here strengthens his earlier assertion (1959, 88 nn.36-37) that this type derives from the same original as the Kallimachean maenads. To my eye, the relief is not nearly well enough preserved to substantiate this connection.

[4] In addition to the Louvre-Freiburg relief type, whose early Hellenistic origin is generally accepted, one can cite a gem in New York, which depicts Dionysos wrapped in an archaistic mantle and is dated by Richter to the 4th-3rd centuries B.C.; *LIMC* III (1986) 432 no.92 w/prev. biblio. Cf. also the Eleusis Dionysos presented below.

chaistic sculpture of Hellenistic East Greece. As is so often the case in this area, continuity of stylistic tastes and technical proficiency makes the chronological distinction between Hellenistic and Roman works difficult to establish, thus the figures are treated as a unit. The second collection of Dionysos statues is more coherently archaistic in style and displays stylistic affinity to Attic and neo-Attic archaistic works. Most of these are Roman but some of them may reproduce earlier prototypes and others still were quite possibly created themselves in Classical or Hellenistic times.[5]

I. Dionysiac Figures in East Greek Hellenistic Style

Four small statues from Rhodes (IA1-4), which have been classified as Hellenistic originals reveal by their garments their identity as Dionysiac figures.[6] While their archaistic features are slight, even for works of the Hellenistic East, they do attest that such a style was deemed appropriate for this subject matter in pre-Roman statuary in the round. The remaining seven statues (IB1-7) show that this tradition continued and even spread to the Western Mediterranean during the Imperial era.

Archaism in the Dionysos from Soroni (IA1) is limited to a rather stiff-legged pose and an impression of axiality created by the central mass of drapery (Fig.56).[7] The diagonal line of the nebris is reminiscent of archaistic garb but is not itself an archaistic feature. The closest parallel is the East Greek Hellenistic Artemis-Hekate figure (supra ch.2), which is more obviously archaistic than this, but which may have inspired the skirt arrangement with clinging fabric and framing vertical drapery masses. Maiuri sees in the piece a reflection of a Rhodian Hellenistic bronze which would itself have been a re-elaboration of the fourth century Dionysos "Sardanapalos" type.[8] While the Rhodian statuette shares with the Sardanapalos type the scheme of heavily draped and bearded Dionysos and the somewhat peculiar positioning of the bearded head, the figure from Soroni is clearly a late Hellenistic creation, to judge from its busy

[5] The Attic/Asiatic distinction can be traced back to Bulle, who applied it to monuments he dated to the fifth century. A similar distinction is applied to Hellenistic archaistic in Fullerton 1987, 273-275. For an East Greek Hellenistic archaistic style see also Borrelli 1949.

[6] Merker 1973, 28. Linfert 1976, 95. There is no reason to doubt that these are late Hellenistic creations. In style, material, and technique they are inseparable from the mass of Hellenistic material collected by Merker.

[7] Laurenzi, in fact, states explicitly that the figure is not archaistic.

[8] He suggests that the Hellenistic type may reproduce the Rhodian Dionysos Thyonidas mentioned by Hesychios. For the type: Lippold 1956, 61-65; E. Pochmarski, *ÖJh* 50 (1972-1973) 41-67 (original ca. 310 B.C.); LIMC III (1986) 431-432, no.89, 545 no.37.

plastic drapery, its small head, and its very narrow shoulders in porportion to its hips.

For the statue in red stone[9] (IA2)—a heavily draped male figure with diagonal mantle fastened at the left shoulder—identification as Dionysos is most natural. This statue's archaistic features are more pronounced than are those of the Soroni statue. It wears the more common archaistic diagonal himation; it stands in a more balanced and frontal pose and the drapery is arranged around three vertical axes, the central of which is most pronounced. It is, overall, closer to the Artemis-Hekate figures cited above. However, the exact type of garment itself is difficult to discern. It seems as if the artist wished to portray at once the long diagonal himation with overfold and a short diploidion fastened at one shoulder.

The female figurine (IA3) (Fig.57) most resembles in pose and proportions a Hellenistic statuette from Kos in the British Museum.[10] Unlike the Koan piece, however, the Rhodian figure wears a nebris which identifies her as a maenad. Moreover, this statue strides much less broadly than does the Koan piece and thus lacks its trifaciality. As on the two Dionysos figures, the drapery of this maenad shows a strong central axis, in this case accentuated by one leg of the nebris and made slightly more archaistic by a swallowtail termination. Therefore, the statuette seems to be essentially a standard Rhodian Dionysiac figure modified slightly to accomodate a "dancing" pose, which is more appropriate for a maenad. The other piece in London (IA4) is also clearly identified as a maenad by its nebris; it is at once more static and more chiastic. It stands still with its left leg bent whereas the Koan piece strides with both legs held stiff. The drapery of the second maenad displays the familiar distinct central axis, but is otherwise virtually without archaistic features.

These four sculptures suggest a Hellenistic Rhodian tendency to archaize slightly figures related to Dionysiac cults, but whether any or all of these statues should be, as suggested by Maiuri, connected with the Rhodian Dionysos Thyonidas must remain an open question. That this style and its connection with Dionysiac iconography maintain its appeal in Roman times is attested by the seven statues collected in section B. Of these, two maenads (IB1-2) reflect more or less faithfully the style represented by the four Rhodian originals. The statue in Torino (IIB1) resembles in stance, garment, and drapery style the red marble Dionysos in Rhodes (IA2). The axiality, frontality, and lively plastic drapery are consistent with the Rhodian style, and the addition of a garland suggests

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[9] On this material, Merker 1973, 6.

[10] Fullerton 1987, 270.

that a maenad rather than a Season is being represented here.[11] The Mantua maenad (IB2) resembles the Rhodian statuette in London (IA4). They share the slightly chiastic pose, the frontal organization of skirt drapery with three verticals, the nebris draped over the left shoulder, the high-girt garment, and flaring overall proportions. On both, the overfold shows the horizontal edge proper to a peplos, but the Mantua statue wears a diagonal mantle while this feature on the London figure is unclear. Despite minor differences—the Rhodian piece has a longer overfold, and the looping folds over the legs are more accentuated on the Mantua piece—the two are closely related.

The other two maenads (IB3-4) have similar stylistic roots but are more fanciful creations. One feature is the multiplication of garments and attributes. The Madrid maenad wears a thin chiton, diagonal himation, diagonal garland, diagonal nebris, and a cape over the back. We can be fairly certain that the arms held still more Dionysiac attributes. The basic stiff striding frontality and central skirt pleat are Rhodian features; the latter is made even more archaistic by the addition of a swallowtail termination (cf. IA3). This busy additive approach to draping the figures is seen also on the maenad in Rome (IB4); she wears a nebris, the body of a fawn held in the left arm is here preserved, and the garments are piled on this figure with so much exaggeration that their true nature is essentially incomprehensible. At first glance, it seems as if she is wearing a single chiton with extraordinarily long overfold, but the rendering of two garments over the legs indicates that there must be a chiton and a mantle; the exact nature of the latter is elusive.

Both statues (IB3-4) delight in the contrast of clinging drapery with plastic, deeply cut, chiaroscural drapery. On the Madrid maenad, the drapery over the legs is rendered in a more or less standard Rhodian manner, while on the upper body the garments are rendered with a linear pattern of addossed and interlocking triangles. Thus the additive process is reflected both in the garments being draped one over the other and in these compositional segments being stacked one atop the other. This decorative use of line and emphasized contrast of light and shadow is carried over the entire figure of the last maenad (IB4). Although this piece also has smooth clinging drapery over the legs, the axial pattern of the Madrid statue is replaced here by long sweeping folds which create a continuous line from left hip to right ankle. This line is continued by means of the overfold pleats, the folded nebris, and the folds over the breast to the right shoulder. The resulting S-curve of the drapery composition

[11] Dütschke had identified the figure as Spring or Summer on the basis of this attribute, but note that statues IB3-4 below, which are clearly maenads, wear garlands as well.

reflects the slightly different pose wherein the left hip is slightly raised to support the fawn and is paralleled by the curve of the animal's body. The rendering of the folds, while maintaining linear patterning, is somewhat more plastic and substantial than on the Madrid statue and displays a more striking contrast between form and line. Thus the whole impression is more mobile than that of the Madrid statue, which is agitated but static. While a decorative and illogical piling on of garments is seen on at least one Rhodian figure (IA2), its exaggeration here is likely a response to Roman tastes. De Lachenal, who also recognizes the Rhodian traits of this figure, suggests a date in the first century B.C. The statue was found in Rome, but carved in Greek marble; it may represent a stage at which this kind of archaistic Dionysiac figure was introduced into Rome at the end of the Hellenistic period. In this, the era of Pasiteles and Stephanos, the distinction between Greek and Roman is meaningless. The Madrid maenad, to judge from its somewhat more static composition and similarity to the Apollo figures discussed below (7IA; Figs. 75-76), may like them reflect the revival of this style during Hadrianic and Antonine times.

The Priapos statue in Rome (IB5) belongs to precisely the same stylistic milieu, with its additive treatment of garments and attributes. The drapery over the legs is clinging and transparent and is likewise contrasted with massive linear vertical pleats. A heavy wrapped mantle further enhances the chiaroscural framing effect. The Vienna Priapos (IB6) is more stationary than the Capitoline statue, but the fantasy is carried further (Fig.58). No fewer than four putti scamper busily over the figure, who also holds in his garment a vast array of the earth's fruits. These all serve as symbols of fertility and are, in the strictest sense, attributes—objects added onto the figure to explain his identity. Stylistically the figure fits with the rest not only because of this artificial and voluminous mantle, but also in the drapery pattern over the legs. The three parallel vertical accents and the parabolic leg-modelling folds between the verticals are reminiscent of Hellenistic Artemis-Hekate figures. The frontality of this arrangement is displayed also in the Izmir statue (Fig.59), whose skirt drapery is arranged in a very similar manner, with an even greater symmetry lent by the drapery held in both hands. The consequent rigidity of pose makes this statue seem more archaistic than it really is. The drapery over the upper body is not really archaistic, nor is the head, which has an essentially classicizing face and hairstyle. The square form of the beard recalls Alkamenean herms, but the rendering of the individual locks is not archaizing. The resemblance to herms extends to the statue's blocky body and may indicate a relationship between this piece and a tradition of hermaic Dionysos representations.[12]

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[12] Dionysos herms and Dionysos masks hung on pillars are well known on Attic vases

The archaizing style represented by the Dionysiac figures has been treated by two earlier scholars who also recognize the east Greek origin of the style but differ on chronological development. Bulle sees the Madrid maenad and Capitoline Priapos as representative of a late Hellenistic stage in the development of a continuous Ionian archaistic tradition.[13] Borrelli, on the other hand notes the affinities between some of the works treated here and other Rhodian works and sees all as products of a Rhodian "mannerist" school of the second half of the second century B.C.[14] Her assessment differs from that presented here only in seeing all these works as Rhodian late Hellenistic work, or copies of such. One must, however, allow the possibility that some of these works are Roman creations, although both Bulle and Borrelli reject it categorically. The statues from Rhodes in group IA are in all probability late Hellenistic works, and the maenad in Rome (IB3) very likely represents a first century B.C. Roman version of the genre. Two maenads (IB1-2) are apparently of Roman workmanship but resemble so closely works seen as Rhodian originals that they could date from any time between the first century B.C. and the second century A.C. The statues that show the exaggeration of Rhodian style and fantastic approach to composition (IB3,5-6) should belong with the Apollos in the second century A.C., when Hellenistic Asiatic styles enjoyed a revival.[15] The Izmir statue shows that this "neo-Hellenistic" style is found not only in Italy but the East itself.

II. Dionysos Statues in Attic Archaistic Style

The mostly Roman figures treated here are classified as "Attic" to distinguish their very rigid archaistic style characterized by extensive use of linear drapery patterns (e.g. zig-zags, swallowtails, and parallel pleats)

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from the late Archaic period onward. They have been associated certainly with the Anthesteria and possibly with the Lenaia. For representations of herms, see: G. Van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria* (Leiden 1951) 26-28; LIMC III (1986) 441-444 (including heads, some of which may have originally been hermaic). Also on Dionysiac herms: Giumlia 1983, 60-86. Wrede 1985, 21-22. For masks on pillars: A. Frickenhaus, *Winckelmannsfeste* 72 (1912) 3-40, catalogue on pp. 33-40; H.W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (Ithaca, NY 1977); LIMC III (1986) 424-427. For a summary of the problems: I.B. Romano, *Early Greek Cult Statues* (Ph.D. diss. UPenn 1980) 71-73, 423-424.

[13] This tradition would originate with the Vatican and Borghese Apollos (7IA1-2), which he identifies as copies of mid-fifth century originals. A late Antonine example in his scheme is the hermaic Pan in London from Cività Lavigna.

[14] She cites the two Apollos, the Soroni Dionysos, the Torino Hore, the Madrid maenad, and the Capitoline Priapos.

[15] Note, however, that Zanker places the Capitoline Priapus in the Augustan Era. This is not impossible, although the Priapus is of a rather different style than the other statues which seem to be certainly Augustan (e.g. Herculaneum Athena, Pompeii Artemis).

from the freer archaistic "Asiatic" style treated above. Such a classification can be justified by the fact that this same distinction has been drawn here and elsewhere between East-Greek and neo-Attic work of Hellenistic date,[16] and by the fact that most of the Dionysos types in question can be connected through objective criteria to Athens and its environs.

A. Dionysos in Long Diagonal Mantle with Overfold

The statues in group A are characterized by their garment—a long diagonal mantle with overfold worn over a thin chiton. Four wear the mantle wrapped over the left shoulder, in a manner proper for this deity, while the other two wear it fastened at the right shoulder, a fashion common on other kinds of archaistic figures. Of the four figures with wrapped mantle, the torso from Stamata is most easily identified as an Attic work, owing to its material and provenience. It is also the statue whose proper assessment is most critical to the understanding of the group, since it provides the greatest potential for controversy concerning its overgarment, its iconography, and its date.

Since the legs of the Stamata statue (IIA1) are mostly missing, a crucial clue for the identification of the mantle is not available. It has been seen as a reversed Ionic himation,[17] but there is, unusually, no indication of fastening along the left upper arm. Moreover, this garment is unparalleled in archaistic art and seems to be limited in Archaic sculpture to karyatids, where the reversal serves an obvious aesthetic function. The closest parallels to this arrangement is to be found on the two more completely preserved figures in Athens and Copenhagen (IIA3-4), where identification as a long mantle with overfold is certain. As is shown below, all four statues (IIA1-4) are variations of the same basic type so all four probably wear the same kind of mantle.

The identity of the Aigina (Fig.61) and Copenhagen (Fig.62) statues as Dionysos is obvious from the attributes of kantharos and thyrsos. On this basis one can identify the attribute of the Torlonia statue (Fig.60) as a thyrsos and extend to it and the closely related Stamata torso the designation as Dionysos.[18] On the basis of these statues and related relief representations, it would seem that the long wrapped diagonal mantle with overfold itself is a Dionysos attribute. It is probably a conflation of

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[16] See supra pp.8-10 and especially, Fullerton 1987, 274-275.

[17] By Harrison.

[18] This identification was first suggested by Schmidt; Bulle first connected the Stamata and Torlonia pieces, but he did not recognize the iconography. Previously the figures were seen as representations of Hekate (Reinach, Rep IV 190,9) with whom there are definite connections (cf. infra).

the mantle wrapped over the left shoulder without overfold and the archaistic diagonal mantle with overfold fastened at the right shoulder. The former garment, which allows more freedom of movement to the right arm, is commonly worn by male deities, especially Dionysos.[19]

The date of the Stamata torso is especially problematic. Most scholars have identified it as a fourth century creation from its technical similarity to Attic late Classical grave-reliefs,[20] stylistic similarity to certain archaistic sculptures traditionally placed in the fourth century,[21] and a typological similarity to figures on reliefs from Chalkis and Chalandri.[22] None of these grounds are conclusive. Technique is at best a tricky criterion. The fourth century archaistic statues have been recently re-dated to the early Empire.[23] Of the reliefs, the former is probably Roman and the latter is certainly Hellenistic or later.[24]

The primary reason that scholars have sought to date the Stamata torso in Classical times is that it is distinguished from most other archaistic sculptures by the subtlety of its design and the high quality of its carving. Several of the statue's features reflect a desire to render basically Archaic features in a manner more in keeping with the post-Archaic taste for apparent naturalism. The parallel mantle pleats do not hang vertically but flare to outline the body, and its ruffled border is formed by pleats which are not attached in a schematic pattern, but reflect by their positioning the force of gravity. The hair in back as well as the shoulder locks present more realistic and three-dimensional versions of Archaic traits. Such an interest in realism does mark this statue off from the majority of archaistic creations, the style of which tends, generally through coarseness of execution, to exaggerate rather than soften the stiff artificiality of Archaic linear patterning. Yet, an interest in rendering archaistic patterns in more naturalistic ways has been shown elsewhere to originate in Hellenistic times.[25] Equally distinguished both in style and execution are the recently published fragments from the Akropolis version of the Herculaneum Athena type (3IAC). These have been identified by some as fifth century, but the statue type is first century B.C. at the earliest. These Athena fragments show clearly that archaistic work of high quality can be of Roman date; final judgement on the Stamata torso depends on its relationship to the other statues of similar type (IIA2-4).

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19 Cf. also below group IIB
20 E.g., by Bulle.
21 Bulle and Harrison.
22 Herdejürgen.
23 Fullerton 1986b, 213. Especially the Laurion basin-bearer which is closest to the Stamata torso in style.
24 Fullerton 1987, 276.
25 Fullerton 1987, 265-268.

The correspondence in pose, proportions, garment type and drapery pattern between the Torlonia Dionysos (IIA2) and the Stamata torso is so close that only the differences are worthy of note. Most noticeable is style; the Torlonia piece is overall less plastically rendered and many individual features are flattened and simplified.[26] That the Torlonia statue holds a thyrsos along its left side is not a major distinction since a similar attribute, perhaps in a different material, was probably held in the Stamata figure's outstretched left hand. Perhaps more significant is the extra mass of drapery hanging behind the left shoulder of the Torlonia piece. This feature, completely lacking on the Stamata statue, is proper for a long mantle wrapped over the left shoulder. while neither figure is clad in a manner which is logically possible, because of the continuous ruffle border across the back,[27] the more accurate rendering on the inferior piece is a curious feature.

Two other figures (IIA3-4) resemble the Torlonia and Stamata pieces in pose and garment arrangement. However, each preserves a kantharos in the right hand, assuring the identification as Dionysos, and both show the flaring proportions characteristic of the later Hellenistic period.[28] Unlike the two statues considered above, on neither of these two is the chiton rendered with parallel crinkly folds. This trait is also typical of Hellenistic work, as is the naturalistically bunched diagonal himation border on the Athens statue. The inclusion of a zig-zag pattern here, which is logically possible if one reads the line of the zig-zag as the folded edge of the mantle, may help explain the occurrence of the more decorative yet illogical ruffle on the other three statues. The closest parallels for this statue are Hellenistic hekataia and related Artemis-Hekate figures.[29] It was noted that the Stamata and Torlonia statues resemble the Classical hekataion type in skirt drapery arrangement. The Athens and Copenhagen figures display Hellenistic versions of the same arrangement with clinging drapery and emphasized leg-flanking pleats. The Athens statue,

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[26] For example, the ruffles of the diagonal border, the pleats of the overfold, and the hekataion-like pattern of drapery over the legs.

[27] Properly the ruffle should continue along the edge of the mass of drapery hanging in back and a second ruffle would emerge from under this one and run across the back. In any event, a long wrapped mantle with overfold and separately attached ruffle at the point of the fold is a garment which probably never existed. More probably the arrangement on both statues is a misunderstanding of a logical Hellenistic arrangement.

[28] As recognized by Schmidt and Herdejürgen. Gasparri lists the Copenhagen statuette as Hellenistic and the Athens statue as Roman.

[29] Kraus 1960, pls. 5.1-4, 6.1, 13.2, 18.1-3, 21.2; especially close is Athens, NM 303 shown on pl.23.2. None of these, however, have the overfold form of the Copenhagen piece, where two overfold pleats are added forming swallowtail patterns which complete elliptical sections of clinging drapery on the legs. The connection with hekataia was already noted by Schmidt. For Artemis-Hekate figures, Fullerton 1987, 261-265.

moreover, has the symmetrical swallowtail overfold arrangement which is a stylistic attribute of the hekataion. The arrangement on the Copenhagen statuette is different, but its multiple overfold pleats and swallowtail patterns derives from other Hellenistic works like the Pergamon Dancer and its neo-Attic imitators. With the latter is also shared a rigid linear style.

From these observations, the development of this type of Dionysos becomes clear. It originated not in late Classical but in late Hellenistic times with the transformation of a common Hekate type through the substitution of thyrsos for torch and addition of a kantharos. The Athens statue—probably a Hellenistic original—reflects the first stage in this development; its style and provenience indicate a mainland "neo-Attic" origin and a probable date in the later second to first centuries. Thus this Dionysos "type" stands in somewhat the same relationship to the Rhodian Dionysiac figures as the Chigi-Munich Athena to the Pergamon Dancer. The Copenhagen figure is a minor work of indeterminate date; its style has strong Hellenistic associations but could easily be of Roman manufacture.[30] The Torlonia and Stamata pieces illustrate that early Imperial tendency to imitate more closely actual Archaic forms, for example in the flat pleats of the mantle or the crinkle folds of the chiton. The qualitative difference between them is attributable to place of manufacture and can be paralleled by the Naples and Akropolis versions of the Herculaneum Pallas type.

The final two Dionysos figures with diagonal mantle (IIA5-6) are very similar in their general scheme while differing in certain details. Both stand stiffly and frontally with their legs nearly together. This pose and the well over life-size scale of the two figures suggests their possible function as cult statues in Roman times.[31] Both figures wear long hair with shoulder locks and a broad beard, while the forehead hair is rendered by two very different patterns and the shape and number of shoulder locks also differs. Both wear a long chiton with crinkly folds and a long diagonal mantle fastened at the right shoulder; the overfold of this mantle on both statues falls in a long section at the right in imitation of the short Ionic mantle. This garment, as has often been seen, originates with the neo-Attic archaistic pantheon and is the dominant dress among Roman archaistic statuary.[32] It is by no means specifically appropriate to Dionysos as is the wrapped mantle considered above.

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[30] Note that it was found in Italy.

[31] Large scale archaistic statues are quite exceptional. Only the Herculaneum Athena is as much as 2 meters tall. The statue of which the Stamata torso was part may have been a bit over life-size.

[32] For example, on several archaistic Athena figures presented above.

Of the two statues, that in the Doria-Pamphili Gallery (IIA5) is closest to neo-Attic work, since it incorporates such Hellenistic features as its more plastic mantle folds, leg-flanking drapery masses, and naturalistically textured chiton folds (Fig.63).[33] The statue appears to have been drawn from the neo-Attic figural repertoire,[34] but with more dominant East Greek Hellenistic traits. Its eclecticism is appropriate in Roman works of the first century B.C. or later; its sharp and precise carving suggests but does not demand an early Imperial date.

The Albani 144 Dionysos (Fig.66) has been variously assessed as a copy of an Archaic work (Schmidt, Lippold), a copy of a fourth century work (Herdejürgen, Gasparri), and a Roman creation (Fuchs: late Republican). That an argument can be made for each is a strong indication that it is, in fact, an eclectic Roman creation. The nearly Archaic forms of the hairstyle, shoulder locks, and chiton are quite clearly Roman imitation of Archaic features, shoulder locks, and chiton are quite clearly Roman imitations of Archaic features, while the classicizing face further assures us that this could not be a copy of an Archaic work. The arrangement of the mantle, especially the repetitive swallowtails, and the very flat treatment overall is reminiscent of, for example, the Dresden Athena. The skirt drapery is unusual, but its very broad central pleat, simple flanking folds, and very shallow carving resemble a more static version of the design seen also on the Dresden Athena. Moreover, the corkscrew hair and beard curls, the ribbon candy shoulder locks, and the patterned chiton folds recall similar features on those Roman works most closely imitative of the Archaic; this statue is, like those, difficult to date.[35] Both the Albani and Doria Dionysos statues, therefore, represent a Roman statuary version of a basically neo-Attic type, but the two are indicative of the two contrasting trends in Roman archaizing. The former reflects a taste for the more naturalistic effects of East Greek Hellenistic archaistic work while the latter represent a more western tendency to reproduce Archaic traits rather closely. That both statues are Italian works reminds us that geographic distinctions cannot be drawn too firmly in Imperial times.

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[33] This has been recognized by Schmidt and Herdejürgen.

[34] Such as the Dionysos from Chalandri which wears a version of the wrapped mantle although, like the Doria piece, it is fastened on the right. The drapery of the Doria piece, especially that of the himation, is somewhat more agitated and textured than the flatter and smoother treatment seen on neo-Attic figures. This is, of course, an Asiatic feature; Gualandi has cited this piece as related to Rhodian work. Thus the Doria statue is not a mere copy from neo-Attic relief but something rather more eclectic.

[35] The corkscrews are especially popular on herms. The ribbon candy locks recur on the archaistic korai treated above (5B1-9). The chiton folds are especially close to those on the Roman perirrhanteria at Eleusis: Fullerton 1986b, 209-210.

B. Dionysos with Wrapped Mantle

The three statues collected here utilize three of the several variations in the draping of this garment: worn alone and draped over the shoulder and arm (IIB1), worn alone and draped over the arm only (IIB2), and worn over a chiton (IIB3).[36] The first of these methods of draping occurs in a non-archaistic fashion on Panathenaic amphorae of 403/2 B.C.[37] A dated example of the archaistic version worn over a chiton is worn by the leading nymph on a votive relief dated by its inscription to the end of the fourth century B.C.[38] Another example—the right hand nymph on the neo-Attic round dance with Pan and three nymphs is more problematic, since the invention of the type is variously assigned to the fourth century or the early Hellenistic period.[39] The garment is again popular in neo-Attic work of the second century and later where it generally occurs contaminated with features borrowed from contemporary archaistic creations draped differently.[40]

The garment of the Eleusis (IIB1) figure is closest to that on the Metropolitan relief, not only in its general arrangment but also in the fully advanced manner of accentuating the bodily forms with a few long folds (Fig.65). The stance is thoroughly non-Archaic. The weight is borne on the left leg; the right leg is bent and turned in slightly; the left hip protrudes somewhat. This twisted and sinuous stance is emphasized by the fold pattern; a bunch of drapery pulled forward between the left arm and body inside the elbow furnishes a compositional focus. From this the folds radiate in all directions; short folds model the arm, long folds outline the legs and curved folds show a slightly swelling abdomen. The use of slight archaism within a basically non-archaistic scheme is found on the earlier Eleusis basin-bearers which are also technically closest among Eleusinian statues to this Dionysos.[41] The basin-bearers are dated by their inscribed

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[36] On this garment see especially Harrison (1965, 58-59) who believes that Dionysos is represented only when the mantle is worn over a chiton. The Eleusis statue, she thinks, is a priest; cf. Bulle (1918, 25-26) who calls the statue a standing man. Both scholars note that the garment was especially popular in the fourth century.

[37] Harrison 1965, 58. Süsserot 1938, pl.1.3.

[38] New York, MMA 25.78.59. Havelock 1964, 44-45, pl.17 fig.1. Fullerton 1986b, 209.

[39] For this problem, see especially: Havelock 1964, 57. Harrison 1965, p.58, favors the fourth century date.

[40] Note especially the draped male figure type found on the Akropolis four-gods base and the Agora tripod base. Havelock 1964, pl. 18.7 and 19.12 shows these on facing pages. This type has the central pleat between the legs—a conventional archaistic feature—which makes no sense on this garment and is not found on earlier works like the Eleusis Dionysos (IIB1) or the figure on the Kallimachos relief in the Capitoline which resembles the Munich Tyche type but also includes this illogical central pleat.

[41] Fullerton 1986b, 208-209.

bases to the end of the fourth century, and the New York relief is similar in date. The Eleusis statue is generally dated to the fourth century also, but it could be slightly later; a classification as "early Hellenistic" should suffice.[42] While some have been reluctant to see this statue as representing a god,[43] the use of archaism and shoulder locks suggest a divine figure, and Dionysos is the most obvious candidate.

The Melchett Dionysos (IIB2) wears the mantle over the arm, but it is quite different from the many neo-Attic figures so draped.[44] In pose, proportions, and fold pattern over the legs, it strongly resembles the Eleusis statue, although the combination of bunching with a highly artificial ruffle pattern on the mass of drapery across the waist is a quite different feature. The loose zig-zag pattern of the drapery falling from the arm is similar to the open side of a fifth century peplos,[45] and the face too is classicizing, but with the narrow late Classical proportions of such Hellenistic works as the Pergamon Dancer. Strong saw the statue as a second century A.C. copy of a first century B.C. archaistic version of a fifth century Zeus or Asklepios type. This rather complicated genealogy is avoided by recognizing the statue as a Roman pastiche of Hellenistic classicizing and archaizing features. It neatly fits none of the stylistic trends we have seen: neo-Attic, Asiatic, or Roman imitations of Archaic. Its general type seems derived from neo-Attic figure types, but its artist shows more than the usual amount of originality. On style alone it cannot be dated more specifically than "Roman."

Furtwängler cites the Albani 983 statue (IIB3) (Fig.66) as a parallel to the Eleusis Dionysos (IIB1), and others have also seen this piece as fourth century.[46] Others have recognized the statue's Hellenistic "Asiatic" features and assigned it to a later period.[47] The face is indeed classicizing, but less in a fourth century than in a fifth century manner; the face is broad, the features heavy, and the smooth plane of the forehead runs without a break into that of the nose. The forehead, on the other hand, is narrower than the face at the cheeks and rounded in cross-section, like fourth century works. The texture of the hair recalls Praxitelean works;[48]

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[42] Kanta also sees the piece as approaching Hellenistic style.

[43] Harrison and Bulle favor a mortal. Herdejürgen does not say. Kanta sees the statue as Dionysos.

[44] E.g., the Hephaistos on the Akropolis base and two nymphs on the Kallimachos relief in the Capitoline (BrBr 654). A more recent example occurs on a pier with archaistic reliefs excavated at Corinth in 1974: supra pp.10, 91 n.28. These figures resemble the Tyche of Munich type (4IIA).

[45] For example, on replicas of the Parthenos: N. Leipen, *Athena Parthenos* (Toronto 1971) 28-29.

[46] Lippold as an original, and Schmidt as a copy.

[47] Herdejürgen as a copy; Gualandi does not specify whether as copy or original.

[48] E.g., the Knidian Aphrodite (Richter 1970, 200-201, figs. 715-718).

the pattern of locks which largely emanate from the central part is more fifth century. The beard, temple locks, and shoulder locks are archaizing features,.but hardly Archaic in style. This type of mixed classicizing is precisely what is found on such second century B.C. heads as the Pergamon dancer. Also reminiscent of Eastern Hellenistic styles are the freely textured treatment of the chiton, the twisted diagonal mass of mantle drapery, and especially the three vertical axes of the skirt drapery. However, the stiff and rather arbitrary application of schematic zig-zags on the mantle edges does not suggest a Hellenistic date. The broad expanse of foldless clinging drapery over the legs most recalls the Roman works in East Greek style (IB1-7). As a more Atticized member of this group, the Albani Dionysos is probably also a work of the second century A.C.

C. The Braschi Dionysos and Related Figures

The Dionysos statue in Munich (IIC1) (Fig.67) and statuettes in Paris and Copenhagen (IIC2-3) (Figs.68-69), despite some minor variations,[49] correspond to one another closely enough to define a true statue type.[50] Each figure has a chiton with crinkly folds, the tight nebris arranged with the same symmetrically hanging portions, the central pleat of a tight-fitting skirt with symmetrical parabolic folds modelling the legs,[51] and a small draped mantle across the back, over the forearms, and down the sides.[52] All three stand frontally with one leg slightly advanced;[53] each holds the left arm lowered and the right bent forward from the elbow. The statuettes, moreover, allow some restoration of the Braschi statue's missing portions. the original must have had an archaistic hairstyle and beard, similar to that of the Albani 144 Dionysos (IIA6); loose wavy shoulder locks are preserved on all three figures. The position of the right hand is clear from the bronze; that it held a thyrsos can be seen from the trace preserved on the thigh of the Copenhagen statuette. The original probably held a bunch of grapes down alongside its left thigh.[54]

Two more statues (IIC4-5) (Figs.70-71) share with the Braschi statue

[49] For example, the Paris statuette shows only one layer of drapery over the legs, but such simplification is not surprising in a tiny bronze. The Copenhagen statuette does not preserve its skirt hem, so the arrangement there is ambiguous.

[50] LIMC III (1986) 433-434, no.93. Gasparri here cites also the Frascati figure.

[51] Again eliminated through simplification on the bronze.

[52] This hangs lower in back on the Munich piece than on the Copenhagen statuette.

[53] On the Paris bronze it is the right leg while on the others it is the left leg which is advanced.

[54] This feature is preserved on both statuettes, but note the variation shown by the Frascati statue (IIC4) discussed below.

type the stiff stance, the chiton with centrally pleated skirt, and diagonally draped nebris, but they resemble one another more than either does the Braschi. The main features they share are a tied rather than buckled belt,[55] a somewhat schematized treatment of skirt drapery, a more voluminous overall drapery style, and especially a different way of wearing the small mantle and nebris. Rather than worn across the arms and lower back, the mantle here is draped across the shoulders with both ends hanging in front. On the Frascati statue, the head of the animal skin hangs in front of the left thigh rather than along the central pleat, as on the Braschi type; the Denman Dionysos wears its animal skin in an even more decorative manner.[56] The overall proportions of both are somewhat more slender than those of the Braschi statue, but the Denman statue has a pronounced swelling at the thighs reminiscent of true Archaic kouroi. The Frascati statue holds a bunch of grapes down to its right side, as opposed to the left side on the Braschi type; the position of its left arm is irretrievable. The Denman piece holds it right forearm forward and seems to have done the same with its left. Other differences between the two statues are many. The drapery style of the chiton on the Frascati Dionysos is, like that of the Braschi, of a more Archaic type with sharply defined crinkly folds whereas on the Denman statue there is the textured Hellenistic style. In keeping with this freer rendering is the total lack of any indication of fastening along the chiton sleeves of the Texas piece. The other examples all have buttoned sleeves. On the other hand, the zig-zags of the hanging mantle ends of the Frascati statue are much more freely rendered than those on the Denman Dionysos. The drapery pattern over the legs of the two pieces is quite similar, although the central pleat on the statue in Texas is broken up into more individual folds. It would appear, therefore, that both statues are variations on the Braschi type defined by statues (IIC1-3), and that they were probably created independently of one another.[57]

Three further variations on the type are found on Roman reliefs.[58]

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[55] In both cases this belt is doubled. A buckled belt is far less common that a tied girdle. Ridgway called attention to the buckle of the Lansdowne Amazon, a statue type generally thought to be fifth century, but believed by her to be Augustan classicizing: *AJA* 80 (1976) 82. Boardman has more recently pointed out that the Amazon's belt is actually a horse's rein tied around her waist; *AJA* 84 (1980) 181-182.

[56] Here the garment is shown as a furry skin rather than as a smooth leathery hide. Moreover, shown in the front of the statue are the animal's head, leg with paw and claws, and the tail, which seems to function as a girdle.

[57] One should note, however, that the probable proveniences of these two statues (the town of Frascati and the ancient site of Tusculum) are extremely close to one another.

[58] Fuchs 1959, 88 n.37. Fuchs says that the type recurs as well on sub-Archaic Lokrian pinakes, but does not cite an example. He may refer to a standing Dionysos type which is draped in the long diagonal mantle over a chiton and except for its pose does not really

The best known is a round base formerly in the Lansdowne collection and now in the Whittall collection.[59] Here a figure of the Braschi type faces left and pours a libation with a kantharos at an altar. The garment is the same as on the Munich statue, including the two garments over the legs, and the archaistic hairstyle and beard correspond with those features suggested by the bronze statuette in Paris. Dionysos is here grouped with three maenads of the well-known neo-Attic "Kallimachean" type;[60] Fuchs dates this work to the mid-first century B.C. on the basis on its ornament and style. A framed (votive?) relief in the Milles collection represents a similar figure pouring a libation, but here with a drinking horn, before an altar and a figure of Priapos.[61] This Dionysos corresponds less closely to the Braschi type; although there are the two garments over the legs, the fold pattern is much simplified, consisting of a series of vertical lines. In general, however, with its archaistic hair and beard, its peculiar nebris arrangement, and the grapes in the lowered left hand, it is clear that the figure is meant to follow the Braschi type. The relief is dated by Andrén to the second century A.C. on the basis of technique. The third relief, in the Palazzo Colonna, contains a figure derived from the Braschi type which here stands on a pillar against which leans a hermaphrodite who holds a small Eros crowning a herm. This figure is much slenderer than the Braschi and with its bent right knee and raised left hip is in a chiastic pose, but the nature of the garment makes clear its relationship to the Braschi type.[62] Sieveking suggests a Claudian date for the relief. That all three representations agree in having two garments rendered over the legs should indicate that this feature belongs to the type, not simply to the Munich replica.

As Bulle has said, "Für sich allein steht der Dionysos aus Terracina in der Münchner Glyptothek." This is certainly true for Bulle, since it is one of the very few statues he admits to be Roman archaistic creations; in this

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resemble the Braschi type at all. For illustrations: H. Prückner, *Die lokrischen Tonreliefs* (Mainz 1968) pl.25. Cf. also on the Brauron base, supra p.2 n.11.

[59] Michaelis 1882, 450, no.58. Hauser 1889, 11, no.5. Rizzo 1934, fig. 13. J. Marcadé, *BCH* 77 (1953) 508, fig.12. Fuchs 1959, 74 no.a)7, 77, 88. LIMC III (1986) 434 no.93e.

[60] On these maenads, Fuchs 1959, 73-91.

[61] A.Andrén, *OpRom* 5 (1965) 113-114, no.41, pl.37. For an interpretation: M. Nilsson, *Eranos* 53 (1955) 33-39 = idem, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* (1957) 99-106, fig.25. Nilsson completely rejects the idea of a god offering to another god. He sees the representation here as of a priest of Dionysos dressed to resemble the god. However, as Willers (Willers 1975, 64 n.255) points out, the hermaic Priapos is not the recipient of the offering, but simply a kind of horos for the sanctuary. He favors the identification as Dionysos.

[62] J. Sieveking in BrBr 628a. Bulle 1918, 27, no.51a, pl.7. Sieveking identifies this figure as Artemis on the basis of the deer held in its hand. Bulle sees it as Dionysos.

case his is the minority viewpoint. The statue type, despite or perhaps because of its numerous replicas, variants, and relief versions, is difficult to categorize. Although there are Archaic features and archaistic features, the whole statue type simply does not look very much like anything else, whether Archaic or archaistic. Therefore the opinions on this problem are even more than usually subjective and diverse. The Braschi statue type is variously identified as a copy of a Late Archaic statue (Furtwängler), a copy or variation of an Early Classical original (Schmidt, Langlotz, Fuchs, and Willers),[63] a copy or variation of a High Classical work (Rizzo, Gullini, Kraus, Gasparri),[64] and a Roman archaistic creation (Wolters, Bulle).[65] Most scholars note the same mixture of Archaic and post-Archaic features but read the clues in different ways.

A major problem is that the variety of renderings seen in the representations causes considerable uncertainty as to what the "original" looked like. However, some features which recur can be diagnostic. The stiff-legged frontal pose is not quite Archaic, but is seen on many Roman archaistic statues.[66] Other features, such as chiton folds and nebris form, are also very close while not identical to true Archaic renderings,[67] and the very broad shoulders, thick body and heavy thighs recreate the massive proportions of Archaic sculptures. On the other hand, the small wrapped mantle and pattern of skirt drapery are characteristic of archaistic figures from the late fifth century B.C. and later,[68] and the chignon of hair in back is best paralleled in this same era.[69] The head of the type,

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[63] Fuchs sees the type as South Italian sub-Archaic, while the others recognize it as Attic. Schmidt and Langlotz (as well as Gasparri, cf. below) argue that the type reflects a replacement or repair of the Archaic cult statue of Dionysos Eleutherios destroyed by the Persians; piety would explain the archaistic style.

[64] Rizzo and Gullini infer a Kallimachean connection from the Lansdowne-Whittall base where Dionysos is paired with the well-known neo-Attic maenads. They thus revive Furtwängler's theory that the archaistic style originated with Kallimachos.

[65] The mixture of Archaic and later features suggests to Bulle Pasitelean eclecticism.

[66] The feet are neither so broadly displaced nor parallel as on would see on an Archaic figure. Especially close among archaistic works are the Apollos in the Vatican and Borghese Gallery (7IA1-2).

[67] For the nebris, e.g., Dionysos on the Gigantomachy frieze of the Siphnian Treasury. That on the Denman and Frascati statues are heavily classicized versions of the same.

[68] For the mantle see Harrison 1965, 61. It is there from the beginning in archaistic Athena figures. For a form similar to that of the Braschi type, see the Panathenaic amphora illustrated by Schmidt 1922, pl.7.2. It is also found on the archaistic Athena and Hermes figures on late fifth century oinochoe fragments from the Athenian Agora (cf. supra ch.1, p.3, n.11). It continues on archaistic figures in Hellenistic and Roman times (e.g. the Samothrace frieze, neo-Attic reliefs), but occurs on statuary elsewhere only on the two draped "kouroi" discussed below (IID1-2). The skirt drapery pattern derives from that of the Classical hekataion type (cf. supra ch.1, pp.9-10).

[69] For example the late fifth century head from the Argive heraion (Athens NM 1571) and the Erechtheion karyatids both show long hair gathered together in back.

as known from reliefs and the Paris bronze, shows affinity to Classical archaistic herms, as do the heads of the obviously Roman works considered above (IIA5-6).

The recurrence of the figure on neo-Attic reliefs could indicate that the type was a famous Classical type or, as is the case with most archaistic figures, that it was a late Hellenistic creation, and either date could accomodate our stylistic observations. However, a few factors favor the later date. First, if there were a prominent Classical prototype, one might expect rather less variation in both statues and relief figures. Second, the deliberate attempt to give the statue an Archaic impression is characteristic of works from the first century and later. Finally, unless the Dionysos wears a separate skirt,[70] the two layers of drapery over the legs would seem to reflect confusion with the Hellenistic archaistic long mantle. This feature is shared with the Hellenistic Dionysos ''type'' considered above (IIA1-4), which may have inspired the type.

The Braschi type seems therefore to have derived from a Hellenistic tradition of Dionysos statues which borrow their pose and drapery arrangement from the archaistic hekataion. The transformation into the Braschi type through the introduction of Archaic and High Classical features would indicate that Bulle's first century date and Pasitelean connection are correct. As was seen above, the tradition of archaizing Dionysos representations can perhaps be traced to Classical times, but this particular type is, like most others, a late Hellenistic invention. The close connection between all these Dionysos figures and the archaistic tradition of Hekate may suggest that for Dionysos, as for Hekate, archaism is at least partly the result of a desire to create a permanent and stationary image. For Hekate, this was inspired by the triple-bodied hekataion; for Dionysos it may relate to the tradition of using herms or pillars with masks as cult images.[71]

D. Dionysos with Small Wrapped Mantle

Two figures from the Agora of Athens are sufficiently close (and unusual) in type that they could derive from a common original. The body type and proportions are essentially of the same late Archaic/early Severe type, with broad shoulders, narrow waist and hips, and heavy thighs. With left leg advanced and right hip raised, the larger statue (IID1) has an early Classical stance (Fig. 72).[72] On the statuette (IID2) neither leg is notice-

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[70] An unparalleled garment, at least for male figures.

[71] Cf. supra pp. 131-132 n. 12.

[72] As Harrison points out, this is essentially an early Classical statue type with an archaistic mantle.

ably advanced,[73] but the left hip is definitely raised and the left knee somewhat lower than the right (Fig.73). Both this discrepency and the non-archaistic rendering of the small mantle can be attributed to the imprecision of a small free copy. In other respects, e.g. the manner in which the mantle is worn and the location of shoulder locks, the correspondence is exact enough to suggest that the two figures constitute a statue type. The smaller statuette must represent Dionysos, but the larger figure without preserved attributes, could be an Apollo.[74] Figure types used for more than one deity are a common neo-Attic phenomenon.

The style offers few clues to the date of the prototype. It displays a combination of vaguely Archaic and Severe forms with the small draped mantle so beloved on neo-Attic reliefs but not found on otherwise nude male figures before the second century.[75] The style of the larger statue, as well as its context would indicate a first century B.C. work of archaizing/severizing style to which the neo-Attic drapery was added, but the statuette seems to come from a second-century context. If we can believe this date[76] the type could be seen as a Hellenistic translation in the round from the Apollo type on neo-Attic reliefs.[77] However, if the statuette is not datable archaeologically, the type could be a century or more later in date. The use of the Apollo type for Dionysos in either case continues a tradition of artistic ambiguity between these gods traceable to late Classical times,[78] so the substitution is not surprising. However, the small swallowtail mantle is not a characteristic garment for Dionysos. If its use on the Braschi type was inspired by this neo-Attic creation, then the argument both for a later date and an Attic origin for that type is strengthened.

Catalogue

I. Dionysiac Figures in East Greek Hellenistic Style

A. The Statues from Rhodes

1. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum FIG 56

White Marble H: ca. 0.65 m.

Draped bearded male standing with weight on left leg and wearing

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[73] Harrison says the left leg is advanced.

[74] Harrison 1965, 68.

[75] The fifth century oinochoe fragment from the Agora (supra p.2 n.11) shows a Hermes figure wearing this mantle in an entirely different way.

[76] Harrison 1965, 67 implies that the context is not secure.

[77] As Harrison (1965, 68) would have it; she is not, however, explicit as to the problem of date. A statuary translation from a neo-Attic type could occur at any time during or after the second century B.C.

[78] Harrison 1965, 68.

thin chiton, peplos with overfold fastened at both shoulders, diagonal nebris, and broad flat belt over all garments. Some part of garment is draped over inner left elbow, but since the back is uncarved, it it impossible to tell exactly which garment this is. Right forearm and feet are broken away; left forearm, once dowelled on, is now missing. From Soroni, Rhodes. A. Maiuri, *ASAtene* 4-5 (1921- 1922) 234-237, fig. 1a-c. A. Maiuri & G. Iacopi, *Clara Rhodos* I (1928) 27, fig.8. G. Iacopi, *Lo spedale dei Cavalieri* (1932) 42, fig.20. Heidenreich 1935, 684-685. L. Laurenzi, *RömMitt* 54 (1939) 50, pl.14. Borrelli 1949, 339, fig.3. Lippold 1950, 323. L. Laurenzi, *Studi in onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni* III (1956) 183. G. Konstantinopoulos, *Rhodos, Stadt und Insel* (1969) fig.27. Merker 1973, 28, no.54, figs. 34-36. Linfert 1976, 95, n.328. Gualandi 1976, 162.

2. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum

Red Marble PH: 0.65 m.

Standing draped male figure wearing long chiton and long diagonal mantle. Exact garment is confusing; himation seems to have two overfolds; Gualandi calls it a "doppio diploidio." Head, shoulders, right arm, left forearm, and feet are broken away. Merker 1973, 33, no.135. Gualandi 1976, 161-162, no.157, fig.196. Linfert 1976, 95, fig.223.

3. London, British Museum Sc 2082 FIG 57

White Greek Marble PH: 0.635 m.

Female figure strides forward with right leg and wears chiton, long diagonal mantle with overfold fastened at right shoulder. A nebris hangs diagonally from the right shoulder and along the central skirt pleat. Head, arms, right foot once attached separately, are now missing. Left foot has broken away. From Rhodes. Smith 1904, no.2082. Linfert 1976, 95, pl.42, fig.222.

4. London, British Museum Sc 2081

White Greek Marble PH: 0.61 m.

Female figure stands with weight on right leg and wears peplos (?) with long overfold. Nebris hangs directly from left shoulder. Shoulders, front of upper torso, head, arms, feet all broken away. From Rhodes. Smith 1904, no.2081. Linfert 1976, 95 n.332p, pl.43.229.

B. Roman Works in Rhodian Style

1. Torino, Museo Archeologico

Marble PH: 1.37 m.

Draped female stands with right leg slightly advanced and wears a chiton with long diagonal himation fastened at the right shoulder. Head, right arm, left forearm and left foot are missing. Dütschke 1874-1882, 49, no.75. S. DeRicci, *RA* 8 (1906) 377 no.22. Borrelli 1949, 339. C. Carducci, *Il Museo di antichita di Torino* (Rome 1959) 34. Herdejürgen 1968, 89.

2. Mantua, Palazzo Ducale no.20

Parian (Levi) Marble PH: 1.30 m.

Draped female standing with weight on right leg and wearing chiton, long diagonal himation fastened at right shoulder, and diagonal nebris fastened at left shoulder. Head, right hand, left arm, lower left leg and left foot have broken off. From Sabbioneta. A. Levi, *Sculture del Palazzo ducale Mantova* (Rome 1931) 25, no.20, pl.29(l.). Heidenreich 1935, 683.

3. Madrid, Museo Arqueologico no. 16.793

Marble PH: 1.14 m.

Draped female strides forward with right leg and wears chiton, long diagonal himation fastened at right shoulder, garland draped diagonally over left shoulder and outside right thigh, diagonal nebris fastened at right shoulder and short cape fastened in front of neck. Right arm, left forearm, head, feet, and plinth are missing. From Hustor (Granada). EA 1759. Heidenreich 1935, 679, fig.1. A. Garcia y Bellido, *Esculturas de España y Portugal* (1949) 160-161, no.172, pl.130. Borrelli 1949, 339. *Las Nuevas Salas de Antiquedades Iberias y Clasicas Museo Arqueologico Nacional* (1972) pages not numbered.

4. Rome, Art Market

Greek (de Lachenal) Marble PH: 1.24 m. (w/o head)

Draped female figures stands with right leg advanced and wears chiton and long mantle with overfold fastened over both shoulders. Over the left shoulder is draped a nebris, the legs of which are tied over the right shoulder. Head and right arm are broken away. A fawn is held in the left arm. Excavated, 1777 on the Via Praenestina near Torre Tre Teste. Michaelis 1882, 216, no.1. C. Pietrangeli, *Scavi e scoperta di antichità sotto il pontificato de Pio VI* (Rome 1943) 93. Vermeule & von Bothmer 1955, 131. L. de Lachenal, *BdA* 65 (1980) 1-6.

5. Rome, Conservatori, Braccio Nuovo inv.1873

Italian Marble PH: 1.50

Draped male figure (Priapus) stands with right leg advanced and wears long thin chiton, mantle draped over both shoulders, and diagonal nebris fastened at right shoulder. Head and right forearm, once dowelled on, now are missing. Left forearm and front of right foot are broken away. Statue retains portions of three putti (one on each shoulder and a third on the right thigh) and a fawn in the crook of the left arm. Found on the Quirinal. L. Mariani, *BullComm* 30 (1902) 12, pl.3. BrBr 659. Bulle 1918, 24, no.46, pl.6. D. Mustilli, *Il Museo Mussolini* (Rome 1939) 59-60, no.24, pl.37.154. Borrelli 1949, 340. Helbig[4] II 1699 (v.Steuben). Zanker 1987, 245-246, fig.191.

6. Vienna, Kunsthistorische Museum Inv. no.I219 FIG 58

Marble

Standing draped male wearing long tunic. A second, bunched mantle is wrapped over the left shoulder and over the right forearm to form a pouch holding various fruits and vegetables and two putti. Two more putti standing on the plinth peer upwards under the central pleat of the tunic. H. von Sacken, *Die antiken Skulpturen des K.K. Munzkabinett in Wien* (Vienna 1873) pl.11.1. Heidenreich 1935, 683.

7. Izmir, Archaeological Museum No. 3585 FIG 59

Marble PH: ca. 1 m.

Bearded draped figure stands with right leg slightly advanced and wears long tunic. A second wrapped mantle is draped over the right shoulder and wrapped in a bunch high around the body. Right forearm and hand and left hand are broken away. Holds drapery with both hands. From Bodrum. Unpublished.

II. Dionysos Figures in Attic Style

A. Dionysos Figures with Chiton and Diagonal Mantle

1. Athens, National Museum No. 3070

Pentelic Marble PH 0.98 m.

Torso of a draped male figure wearing chiton and diagonal mantle wrapped over the left shoulder and upper arm. Two long locks fall along each shoulder. Preserved is section from neck to approximately mid-

thigh. Both forearms are broken away. Found rebuilt into small Byzantine church at Stamata (Attika) in 1888. C. Waldstein, *AJA* 5 (1889) 424, pl.12. Bulle 1918, 12 no.14, pl.2. Schmidt 1922, 51. Herdejürgen 1968, 81. Harrison 1965, 51-52.

2. Rome, Museo Torlonia No. 492 FIG 60

Marble

Draped male figure wearing chiton and diagonal mantle wrapped over left shoulder and arm. Figure holds a long curved staff (thyrsos) along left side. Preserved is section from neck to above knees. Right arm from mid-upper arm is broken away. Head is a restoration. C.L. Visconti, *I monumenti del Museo Torlonia* (Rome 1885) 361, pl.126. Furtwängler 1900, 57, no.51. Bulle 1918, 12, no.15, n.42. Herdejürgen 1968, 81. LIMC III (1986) 546 no.66 (C. Gasparri).

3. Athens, National Museum No. 53 FIG 61

Fine-grain White Marble PH: 0.90 m.

Draped male figure standing with legs together and wearing chiton and long diagonal himation draped over right shoulder and upper arm. Figure holds thyrsos along left side and kantharos in right hand. Head, top of thyrsos, right forearm, and front of feet and plinth are broken away. Found on Aigina. Schmidt 1922, 51, pl.23.3. Herdejürgen 1968, 84 a)1. Gualandi 1976, 162. LIMC III (1986) 546, no.65 (C. Gasparri).

4. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek H15 (Inv.1671) FIG 62

Marble PH: 0.58 m.

Draped male figure standing with legs together and wearing chiton and long diagonal himation draped over left shoulder and upper arm. figure holds thyrsos along left side and kantharos in right hand. Head, once dowelled on separately, is now missing. Right arm is largely broken away as is part of the thyrsos. From Paestum. Schmidt 1922, 51, pl.23.2. Herdejürgen 1968, 84 no.a)2. V. Poulsen, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, den Etruskiske Samling* (Copenhagen 1966) 3, no.H15, pl.8. LIMC III (1986) 534 no.96 (C. Gasparri).

5. Rome, Galleria Doria-Pamphili FIG 63

Italian Marble PH: 2.01 m.

Draped male figure stands with right leg slightly advanced and wears

chiton and long diagonal himation fastened at the right shoulder. Head with classicizing face and archaizing hair, beard, and shoulder locks is original. Both forearms, worked separately and dowelled on, are missing. EA 2282 (W. Amelung). Schmidt 1922, 51. Herdejürgen 1968, 84 no.a)4. Gualandi 1976, 162. LIMC III (1986) 434, no.94b (C. Gasparri).

6. Rome, Villa Albani No. 144 FIG 64

Italian Marble PH: 2.18 m. w/o plinth.

Draped male figure stands with left leg slightly advanced and wears chiton and (apparently) long diagonal mantle fastened at right shoulder. Head with classicizing face and archaistic hair, beard, and shoulder locks is original. Restorations: part of plinth, forearms, lower part of beard and chin, lips, central forehead locks, parts of forehead, eyes, lips and patches of drapery. Schmidt points out that the lower section of the skirt with the feet is a restoration, partially ancient and partially modern. BrBr 652. EA 3565-3566 (G. Lippold). Schmidt 1922, 50. W. Wrede, *AthMitt* 53 (1928) 79, n.4. Lippold 1950, 93 n.16. Helbig[4] II 267-268, no. 3297 (W. Fuchs). Herdejürgen 1968, 81 n.501. LIMC III (1986) 434 no.94a (C. Gasparri).

B. Dionysos Figures with Long Wrapped Mantle

1. Eleusis, Archaeological Museum No. 5139 FIG 65

Pentelic Marble PH: 1.17 m.

Draped male figure stands with right leg slightly advanced and wears mantle wrapped over left shoulder and arm covering nearly the entire body. A ruffle border runs diagonally across the chest. Two wavy long locks are preserved on either shoulder. Head and right arm from mid-upper arm are broken away. EA 1299 (H. Bulle). Bulle 1918, 25-26, no.49, pl.7. Harrison 1965, 58. Herdejürgen 1968, 80. K.Kanta, *Eleusis* (Athens 1979) 79, fig. 29.

2. Location Unknown, formerly Hampshire, Melchett Court, Collection of Lord Melchett

Carrara Marble PH: 0.58 m.

Male figure standing with right foot advanced and wearing mantle wrapped around body and over crook of left arm. Head is original, but lower part of beard, hair over forehead, and most of shoulder curls are restored. Other restorations: most of right arm, left forearm with adjoining drapery pleats, lower section of drapery, feet and plinth. Provenience not

known. Sold in Melchett sale of 1951. Michaelis 1882, 290, no.36. E. Strong, *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Antiquities in the Possession of right Honorable Lord Melchett, P. C., D. Sc., F. R. S., at Melchett Court and 35 Loundes Square* (London 1928) 4-5, no.2, pl.7. Vermeule & von Bothmer 1955, 135. Herdejürgen 1968, 79. Waywell 1986, 86-87 no.27.

3. Rome, Villa Albani No. 983 FIG 66

White Marble
Draped male figure stands with right leg slightly advanced and wears long chiton and mantle wrapped around the body and over the left shoulder and arm. Both hands are restored. Furtwängler, Statuenkopien 13. EA 4670-4672 (G. Lippold). Schmidt 1922, 51. Herdejürgen 1968, 84 a)3. Gualandi 1976, 162. LIMC III (1986) 434, no.95 (C. Gasparri).

C. Dionysos Braschi and Related Statues

1. Munich, Glyptothek Inv. no.180 FIG 67

White Marble PH: 1.90 m.
w/o base Male figure stands with left leg slightly advanced, and wears long thin chiton and nebris over left shoulder. Four sections of the nebris hang between the legs in front, between the legs in back, and along the outside of each thigh. A second garment is worn over the legs, but not over the upper body. A small mantle is draped across the buttocks, over each forearm, and down along the outside of each thigh. A belt is fastened over all garments just above the hips. Head, both forearms, both feet, and the plinth are broken away. Various patches all over the surface of the statue are restored in plaster. Found at Terracina in the eighteenth century. Formerly in the Palazzo Braschi in Rome; acquired by Munich in 1811. Furtwängler 1900, 65, no.57. Friederichs 1885, 186 no.447. P. Wolters, *Illustrierter Katalog, München K. Glyptothek* (Munich 1912) no.57. BrBr 657. Bulle 1918, 26, no.51, pl.7. Schmidt 1922, 59. P. Wolters, *Führer durch di Glyptothek König Ludwig I zu München* (1923) 16, no.180. Rizzo 1934, 25, fig.10. Langlotz 1952, 6. Gullini, *ArchCl* 5 (1953) 149. Fuchs 1959, 77 n.8, 88 n.37. Kraus 1960, 114 n.553. Willers 1975, 63-65, pls.36-37 (illustrates statue in present condition with restorations removed). LIMC III 433-434, no.93a (C. Gasparri).

2. Copenhagen, Thorwaldsens Museum no. H1411 FIG 68

Large-grain White Marble PH: 0.12 m.
Statuette of same type as no.1, except preserves lower section of beard

and bunch of grapes (?) in left hand. Much of the right forearm and the lower portion of the figure from the knees down are all broken away. EA 1480. Bulle 1918, 27 n.115. Rizzo 1934, 25. Langlotz 1952, 6. Kraus 1960, 114, n.553. Willers 1975, 63-64, pl.38.1-2. LIMC III (1986) 434 no.93b. (C. Gasparri).

3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Inv. no. 364 FIG 69

Bronze PH: 0.075 m.

Statuette of same type as nos. IIC1-2 above. Figure is intact; only attribute once held in right hand (thyrsos?) is missing. Bunch of grapes held in lowered left hand. Head has archaistic beard and hairstyle. Babelon & Blanchet 1895 no.364. Bulle 1918, 27 n.116. Rizzo 1934, 25-26, fig.17. Langlotz 1952, 6, fig.3. Fuchs 1959, 88. Willers 1975, 64 n.253, pl.38.3. LIMC III (1986) 434 no.93c (C. Gasparri).

4. Frascati, Palazzo Muncipale FIG 70

White Marble PH: 0.91 m.

Draped male figure stands with left leg slightly advanced and wears long thin chiton and diagonal nebris over left shoulder. Belt is tied over these at a slightly higher level than on nos. 1-3 above. Small mantle is draped across back and over shoulders; each end hangs to approximately hip level. A bunch of grapes was held in the right hand. Head, once attached separately, is now missing. Both forearms and lower portion from about the knees down are broken away. Bulle 1918, 27 n.115. Gullini, *ArchCl* 5 (1953) 149 pl.71. Rizzo 1934, 26-27, fig.18. Fuchs 1959, 88. Willers 1975, 63. LIMC III (1986) 434 no.93d (C. Gasparri).

5. San Antonio Museum of Art no. 86.164 FIG 71

White Marble PH: 0.86 m.

Male figure stands with right leg slightly advanced and wears long-sleeved chiton, diagonal nebris, and double girdle. A small mantle is draped over the shoulders as on no.4, above. Head, once inset, is missing. Right hand, left forearm, and lower portion below knees is broken away. Acquired in Rome in early 1960's. Said to be from Theater at Tusculum. H. Hoffmann, *Ten Centuries that Shaped the West*; *Greek and Roman Art in Texas Collections* (Houston 1971) 66-70, no.20, figs. 20a-c.

D. Dionysos Figures with Small Wrapped Mantle Only

1. Athens, Agora Museum Inv. no. S2109 FIG 72

Pentelic Marble PH: 0.565 m.

Standing male figure nude except for stiff small archaistic mantle draped across small of back and, apparently, over forearms. Stance is essentially Archaic with advanced left leg, but the right hip is slightly raised. A long wavy lock is rendered over each breast. Drapery is preserved across back and along left thigh. A scar along right thigh indicates course of corresponding drapery. Head, right arm from mid-biceps, left forearm from elbow, and both legs from knees are all broken off. Found, 1959, on bedrock below floor of Southeast Temple in Athenian Agora. This temple is dated to the Augustan era. E.B. Harrison, *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 379, pl.89a-b. Harrison 1965, 67-68, no.109, pl.22, also pp.61,66,80. H. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora, A Guide to the Excavation and Museum* (Athens, 3rd ed. 1976) 188-189.

2. Athens, Agora Excavations Inv. no. S308 FIG 73

Pentelic Marble PH: 0.123 m.

Statuette of type similar to no.1 above, except stance is reversed and small mantle is not treated archaistically. Also preserved on this figurine are the arms with (fragmentary) attributes. In the right hand is held a kantharos; in the left is what seems to be the hindquarters of an animal. Head and both legs from below the knees are broken away. Found in the fill under the Middle Stoa, a mid-second century B.C. construction. T.L. Shear, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 393, fig.18. Harrison 1965, 67, no.108, pl.22.

56. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum—Statue of Dionysos, Cat. 6IA1—[Author, reproduced courtesy of the Archaeological Ephoreia, Rhodes]
57. London, British Museum Sc2082—Statue of Maenad, Cat. 6IA3—[Courtesy, Trustees of the British Museum]

58. Vienna, Kunsthistorische Museum inv.no.I219—Statue of Priapus, Cat. 6IB6—[Courtesy, Kunsthistorische Museum, Antikensammlung, Vienna]
59. Izmir, Archeological Museum no.3585—Statue of Dionysos, Cat. 6IB7—[Author]

60. Rome, Museo Torlonia no.492—Statue of Dionysos, Cat. 6IIA2—[Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom 34-2075]
61. Athens, National Archaeological Museum no.53—Statue of Dionysos, Cat. 6IIA3—[Courtesy, National Archaeological Museum, Athens]

62. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek H 15 (Inv.1671)—Statuette of Dionysos, Cat. 6IIA4—[Courtesy, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen]
63. Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphili—Statue of Dionysos, Cat. 6IIA5—[Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom EA2282]

64. Rome, Villa Albani no.144—Statue of Dionysos, Cat. 6IIA6—[Alinari 27580]
65. Eleusis, Archeological Museum no.5139—Statue of Dionysos, Cat. 6IIB1—[Author, reproduced courtesy of the Archaeological Museum, Eleusis]

66. Rome, Villa Albani no.983—Statue of Dionysos, Cat. 6IIB3—[Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom EA4670]
67. Munich, Glyptothek inv.no.180—Braschi Dionysos, Cat. 6IIC1—[Courtesy, Staatliche Antikensammlung und Glyptothek, München]

68. Copenhagen, Thorwaldsens Museum Inv. H1411—Statuette of Dionysos, Braschi Type, Cat. 6IIC2—[Courtesy, Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen]
69. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale inv.no.364—Bronze Statuette of Dionysos, Braschi Type, Cat. 6IIC3—[Phot. Bib. Nat. Paris]

70. Frascati, Palazzo Municipale—Statue of Dionysos, Cat. 6IIC4—[Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom 80.861]
71. San Antonio (TX), Museum of Art no.86.134—Statue of Dionysos, Cat. 6IIC5— [Courtesy of the San Antonio Museum Association, San Antonio Texas. The Gilbert M. Denman Jr. Collection. 86-134 (115)]

72. Athens, Agora Museum no.S2109—Statue of Dionysos, Cat. 6IID1—[Courtesy, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations]
73. Athens, Agora Excavations no.S308—Statuette of Dionysos, Cat. 6IID2—[Courtesy, American School of Classical Studies, Agora Excavations]

CHAPTER SEVEN

APOLLO CITHAROEDUS AND HERMES KRIOPHOROS

I. Apollo

A tradition of archaistic Apollo figures seems to originate in two separate types datable to the Hellenistic period, when the majority of deities were first represented in this style.[1] Most frequently he is shown, e.g. on the neo-Attic four gods relief type, as a nearly nude figure wearing only a small swallowtail mantle draped across the back and over the arms.[2] A nearly identical figure recurs in another narrative context in the neo-Attic relief type with the struggle over the Delphic tripod.[3] On the Augustan Citharoedus relief type, Apollo is shown in his other common guise—as a heavily draped musician. Figures similar to this also occur on certain issues of Augustan precious metal coinage from Lugdunum, as discussed in chapter two (Fig. 14).[4] The statuary versions of the former type have been shown to represent Dionysos, but at least two Roman statues exist which correspond to the latter.[5]

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[1] An earlier archaistic Apollo statue has been seen by P. Lehmann in the Apollo Smintheus statue at Chryse allegedly by Skopas. P. Lehmann, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 15 (1978) 67-71. Here she illustrates a coin which shows a draped Apollo which could be archaistic, but a survey of the whole series of coins depicting this statue shows that it could just as easily be Archaic or Early Classical. The attribution to Skopas is not secure, and the coin representations vary so much from issue to issue that they cannot be held to define the type. Cf. supra p.3 n.17. The Early Classical Apollo Citharode in the Louvre (MA 690—the "Mazarin torso") is strictly speaking mannerist rather than archaistic: supra p.7 n.33; E. Bielefeld, *AntPl* 12 (1973) 95-102. Willers 1975, 65.

[2] E.g., Cain 1985, 100 Apollo type 1. On this relief type supra p.10 n.48.

[3] LIMC II (1984) s.v. "Apollon" 307, no.1030 (W. Lambrinudakis) s.v. "Apollon/Apollo" 418-419, nos. 406-408 (E. Simon). Nos. 409-410 show a corresponding scene on Campana reliefs, but on these the style is much more severizing than archaizing. The scene recurs on an Antonine candelabrum: Cain 1985, 154-155, no.19.

[4] Cf. also the tiny draped archaistic Apollo shown as a statue on the Hellenistic (?) votive relief in Munich (supra p.24 n.47); this Apollo is armed, not equipped with cithara. Supra p.10 n.52 for the citharoedus relief and pp.25-26 for the coins. Similar figures occur on Campana plaques and Arretine pottery of Augustan date, as well as on marble reliefs. This predominance of Augustan monuments should come as no surprise, since both the importance of Apollo in imperial iconography and the taste for things archaistic seem to peak in the reign of the first princeps.

[5] One class of monument which is not treated here is the "archaistic kouros," which is generally assumed to represent Apollo. Only a few such statues exist; the most important are collected by E. Simon, LIMC II (1984) 370-373 (cf. 413 no.501). These combine Archaic and Classical features in such a way that it is impossible to classify them as archaistic or severizing, and to include them here would carry this study beyond its proper limits. Moreover, the conclusions reached from the study of draped figures are not applicable to their undraped counterparts—the problems of analysis are entirely different. The most "Archaic-looking" of them (Simon's nos. 25-29) can be understood as Imperial versions

The two draped Apollos (Figs. 74-75) wear quite different forms of over-garment and in general are not close enough to constitute a statue type, but they do share a number of features. Both stand in a stiff-legged Archaic pose, although with opposite legs advanced. Both can be restored with reasonable certainty as citharoedus figures, and both had griffins as attributes, although again placed at opposite sides of the figure. The carving styles of the two statue also show much similarity although with distinct differences. Both are characterized by a relatively limited use of Archaic or archaistic fold patterns and details, but these are somewhat more dominant in the Vatican statue.[6] The folds on the latter are somewhat sharper, finer and less deeply cut than on the Borghese piece. The pattern of leg flanking folds and overall interest in chiaroscural effects which characterize this statue tie it even more closely than the Vatican Apollo to Hellenistic archaistic styles.

This juxtaposition and integration of Archaic and later features and the stylistic indebtedness to East Greek sculpture has long been recognized, but variously interpreted. The stylistic assessments of one or both statues fall into the now familiar categories: copy of an Ionian work from the Archaic (Savignoni), Classical (Bulle), or Hellenistic (Borrelli) period and Roman archaistic createion (Lippold: Hadrianic). Scholars agree that the statues' technical features indicate a second century A.C. date.[7] Both Borrelli's association with Hellenistic Ionian works and Lippold's identification as late Imperial creations appear correct. While general stylistic similarity is strong, these statues of Apollo are not in their entirety very similar to East Greek Hellenistic archaistic works; the Vatican statue especially shows the Roman penchant for Archaic details. The use of this style and the illogical additive approach to garments[8] and attributes con-

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of Archaic cult statues (and thus not really kouroi at all), some of which must have still been standing in Roman times. As Simon points out (supra p.28 n.68) these were created for display in a domestic context as "Hausapollines." In the case of the Forum Apollo (Simon's no.24) I would agree on technical grounds that the statue is a copy, but its stance looks more Early Classical than Late Archaic. The choice of such an old-fashioned type for a public location (the Juturna spring) may be related to the fact that it was displayed together with a figure of Asklepios; cf. G. Boni, *NSc* 2 (1901) 118-119. The antiquarian style would diminish the incongruence of a youthful father and mature son.

[6] Note for example the pattern of wavy lines on the chiton sleeves and the more regimented herringbone pattern of leg-modelling folds.

[7] On the basis of the great amount of drilling, the many fine stiff folds, and the hard, slick finish of the stone.

[8] The upper body of the Vatican statue is treated as if it were wearing a simple belted chiton with overfold, but the two layers of skirt drapery indicate that two garments are worn. The outer garment could then only be a peplos, but the fabric is in this case unusually thin. The cape of the Borghese statue is arranged in a manner which is difficult to understand and unparalleled in archaistic art.

nects these two Apollos with the Dionysiac statues considered above (Chapter 6 IB1-5). All can then be identified as second century A.C. archaistic creations which reflect a strong dependence on East Greek Hellenistic archaistic styles.

A final question concerns the possibility that one or both of these statues have anything to do with the archaistic Apollo Actiacus coin type on Augustan issues minted at Lugdunum (Fig.14).[9] Since the corresponding Artemis is well-represented by the Pompeii Artemis type one might expect statuary versions of the Apollo as well. Of the two, the Vatican Apollo is closer in type to the figures on the coins, since they wear similar garments. However, the statue stands with the right rather than the left leg advanced, and the coin type shows more conspicuous archaistic linear patterning. The Borghese statue, which has a slightly better chance of representing a statue type,[10] is even less similar because of its very different garment arrangement. While it is quite possible that the statues were inspired by an Augustan archaistic Apollo Actiacus type,[11] they differ sufficiently from that type as it appears on coins that they should be considered archaistic creations of their own later Imperial era.

II. Hermes Kriophoros

The statue type defined by the Corinth and Warburg pieces (IIA1-2) (Figs.76-77) has been identified with a number of Kriophoroi known from literature.[12] Pausanias mentions two Hermes Kriophoros statues by Ear-

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[9] Cf. supra p.26.

[10] J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie* III (Leipzig 1889) 180, no.2a, claims to know of a replica of the statue in Torino (seen by Schorn) but no trace of it has since been found.

[11] Note that an Antonine coin type of Apollo citharode may derive from the archaistic Apollo Actiacus: Mattingly 1923-1962 v.IV, 140-144, pl.5.4, also pls. 19.3, 19.17, 20.13, 28.2. It shows a frontal Apollo with patera (r.) and cithara; the figure is of Hellenistic archaistic style (except for its Classical low girding). The legend APOLLONI AUGUSTO suggests that it may be a frontal view of a statue similar to that on the Augustan Actiacus coins. Since the type shows a different view of Apollo, it is not simply a revival of an Augustan type, as occurs for the Artemis figure. It would seem to reflect that a new interest in this Apollo type existed at the probable time the Vatican and Borghese statues were themselves created.

[12] A similar figure appears on a relief pier in Athens (NM 54) datable by its crowning molding to the Augustan period. F. Harl-Schaller, *AthMitt* 87 (1972) 241-253. There are several differences between the relief and the statues. On the former Hermes steps forward with his left leg. He is draped only over his left shoulder and arm, and the ram is held with its head over Hermes' left shoulder. These discrepencies lead Harl-Schaller to dissociate the relief from the statue type. he maintains that the Hermes on the relief reproduces a late fifth century prototype, while he sees the statue type as a late archaistic creation. This total dissociation may be extreme; the types are quite similar and the differences can be explained at least in part by the different requirements of the relief medium. Harl-

ly Classical sculptors. That made by the Aiginetan Onatas and dedicated by the Arkadians at Olympia can be eliminated by Pausanias' description,[13] but another made for Tanagra by Kalamis has been seen as the prototype for these two statues.[14] Coins of this city, however, show a beardless Hermes carrying the ram with its head over the god's left shoulder.[15] Other scholars have dissociated the Wilton-Corinth type from Early Classical archaism and see it either as a copy of a late Archaic statue (Lippold, Cahn) or as a late archaistic statue (Johnson, Harl-Schaller).

The statue type reflected by these two replicas does not easily fit into any but the last category. The bodily proportions are essentially late Archaic—especially the broad thighs. The musculature vaguely recalls Archaic kouroi but the modelling is much smoother and less distinct than on Archaic works. The garment, apparently a simple cape hung long in back and pulled forward over the shoulders in short zig-zag corners, is a more archaistic version of that worn by the Frascati and Denman Dionysos statues.[16] The pose with legs held tightly together is unusual in any era; attachment of the Wilton House piece to a flat pier in back both explains the peculiar stance and suggests a hermaic origin for the type itself. So does the head which, with classicizing face and archaizing hair and beard, most recalls the heads of Classical herms, although the beard on the kriophoros type is more nearly Archaic than on any "Alkamenean" herm. The prototype for these statues was thus a neo-Attic creation, a product of both the hermaic Hermes tradition and the tradition of Hermes Kriophoros attested by Pausanias. The Athens relief suggests a prototype standing in Greece, and in view of its very high quality, the Corinth piece itself may have been the original. The Augustan date for the Athens relief would further suggest that the prototype dates to the second half of the first century B.C., at the latest. If the Corinth piece is the original, it may well have been set up at the foundation of the Roman colony in 44 B.C. Its

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Schaller argues that the flat linear archaistic style of the figures is best paralleled by Classical monuments, but his comparanda have been shown above to be largely Augustan in date.

[13] Pausanias V,27,8. It was helmeted, wore a tunic, and held the ram under its arm.

[14] Pausanias IX,22,1. Michaelis 1882, 703. Of another Hermes Kriophoros, seen by Pausanias in Messenia (IV,33,4), nothing is known.

[15] *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum—Central Greece* (London 1884) 64, no.51, pl.10.12. Richter 1970, 159, fig.598. There is a Hermes Kriophoros in the Barracco Museum (no. 83) which fits this description, but the eclectic style of this piece makes it very unlikely that it has anything to do with an Early Classical original. C. Pietrangeli, *Museo Barracco di scultura antica* (Rome 1960) no.83. Harrison 1965, 138 n.220. Helbig[4] II no.1865 (v.Steuben).

[16] Supra pp. 140–141. The drapery here also recalls a severizing Dionysos type known from two replicas in Budapest: A. Hekler, *AA*, 1928, 252, fig. 1, and in the Museo Torlonia: C. Visconti, *I monumenti del Museo Torlonia* (Rome 1885) 352-354, no.484, pl.129.

location in the forum may relate to Hermes' role as patron deity of commerce—a kind of Hermes Agoraios with the ram symbolizing prosperity. Moreover, Pausanias relates that the kriophoros of Tanagra was set up in thanks to Hermes who averted a plague by carrying a ram around the city walls. Perhaps the Corinth Kriophoros combines that tradition with the Roman practice of laying out a pomerium. The archaistic style would thus be appropriate to the implied antiquity of this ancient ritual. The statue would also draw from both Greek and Roman traditions an apotropaic quality which is often reflected by an archaistic style.[17]

CATALOGUE

I. Apollo

A. Apollo Citharoedus

1. Vatican Museums, Galleria dei Candelabri No.75 FIG 74

Carrara Marble H: 1.37 m.

Draped Apollo strides stiffly with left leg advanced. He wears a long thin chiton and a thin overgarment fastened at both shoulders and belted beneath a short overfold. A long cape falling down the back is fastened at the sternum with a round brooch. A quiver strap runs over the right shoulder and under the left arm. The head (of Artemis?) although ancient, does not go with the body. Also restored are the dog (although the paws, probably of a griffin, are original), both forearms with hands, the quiver, the left shoulder lock and all but the end of the right lock, both feet with drapery over and between them, and various patches of drapery. Lippold 1956, 333-335, no.75 (200), pl.146 (w/previous bibliography). Borrelli 1949, 338. Helbig[4] I 553 (W. Fuchs). Willers 1975, 64 n.256. L. Savignoni, *Ausonia* 2 (1907) 57, fig.27 (a useful illustration with restorations blacked out).

2. Rome, Galleria Borghese Inv. 695 FIG 75

Carrara Marble H: 1.48 m.

Draped Apollo standing with left leg slightly advanced. He wears long thin chiton girt low around the hips and an unusual overgarment. The latter resembles a short diploidion folded to form a short square overfold and long triangular underportion. It is fastened at both shoulders, but only the fastening at the right shoulder is visible, since the garment is draped over

[17] Fullerton 1986, 673.

the left shoulder and covers the fastening there. The head, although ancient, does not go with the body. Also restored are the entire right arm, the left foot, the entire front section of the griffin with head and wings (the right forepaw is original), and various sections of the tripod and its decoration. Helbig[4] II no. 1969 w/previous bibliography, to which add: Borrelli 1949,339. P. della Pergola, *La Galleria Borghese* (Rome 1954) 12, no.H156. The only adequate photograph is BrBr 657, reproduced in Bulle 1918, pl.6.

II. Hermes

A. Hermes Kriophoros

1. London, Warburg Institute FIG 76

Carrara Marble PH: 1.26 m.

Male figure stands with legs together; mantle is worn across shoulders and hangs down along each side in long narrow zig-zag pattern. A ram is borne on the shoulders. Head has archaizing hairstyle, beard, and shoulder locks. Head of ram restored. The figure is partially engaged against a flat pier in back. Formerly in Wilton House. J. Svoronos, *J.Int.Arch.Num.* 16 (1914) 71-80. Michaelis 1882, 702-703, no.144. H. Cahn, *Studies in Honor of D.M. Robinson* (St. Louis 1951) 562. Lippold 1950, 88. Vermeule & von Bothmer 1956, 347, pl.105.6. Harrison 1965, 68 n.3.

2. Corinth Museum No. 686 FIG 77

Pentelic Marble PH: 0.40 m. (torso)

Top portion of statue of same type as no.1, above. Lower section from just below groin is lacking. Face of ram broken away. Face and right hand of Hermes badly damaged. Found: torso (1904) and head (1934) in front of West Shops in forum of Corinth. T. Heermance, *AJA* 8 (1904) 443-441. F. Johnson, *Corinth* 9 (Cambridge 1931) 28-29, no.21. O. Broneer, *AJA* 39 (1935) 68-69, fig.10B. Ridgway 1977, 109, 118, figs. 64-65. Ridgway, *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 431, pl.92c.

74. Vatican Museums, Galleria dei Candelabri no.75—Statue of Apollo, Cat. 7IA1—[Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom 33-143]
75. Rome, Galleria Borghese inv.695—Statue of Apollo, Cat. 7IA2—[Alinari 27466]

76. London, Warburg Institute—Statue of Hermes Kriophoros, Cat. 7IIA1—[Author, reproduced courtesy of the Warburg Institute, University of London]
77. Corinth, Archaeological Museum no.686—Statue of Hermes Kriophoros, Cat. 7IIA2—[Courtesy, American School of Classical Studies, Corinth Excavations]

CHAPTER EIGHT

PARALEIPOMENA—ANONYMOUS AND NARRATIVE FIGURES

In this chapter are considered two quite different classes of monument which do not fit into the previous, iconographically defined chapters. First are those archaistic statues which bear no clue as to what they are intended to represent. These are arranged according to the type of garment they wear; since most statues do not include their lower legs and feet, it is usually impossible to determine whether the diagonal mantle is worn short or long with an overfold. In Archaic and Classical sculpture, of course, the long mantle is fastened logically at the shoulder only while the short mantle is fastened along the entire upper arm. Thus, the first two categories are separated according to the manner of the fastening of the mantle, although in archaistic sculpture such consistency does not prevail. For each statue is given a brief assessment of its style and stylistic affinities. The second group consists of two individual figures which can be identified with some certainty. They differ from other archaistic figures in that their poses suggest strongly that they once formed part of a narrative sculptural scene.

I. Anonymous Figures

The statue in London (A1) (Fig.78) and statuette in Copenhagen (A2) (Fig.79) are quite clearly of the same type. The long diagonal mantle here falls in a very long zig-zag pattern at the right side, a feature which has been seen on certain previously considered statues and in most cases interpreted as a reflection of influence from the Archaic short mantle. In this case, however, it seems that the long fall of drapery is meant to be seen as having been created by the fastening of the garment some distance in from its outer edge; this is suggested by the long pleat which flares out over the right hip of the London piece and seems to be the edge of the overfold. The garment is in any case not realistically depicted since the diagonal ruffled border is impossible on the long mantle with overfold. This type's iconographic connections are with the Artemis-Hekate statues which are usually dressed in the archaistic peplos, but which in some Hellenistic renderings wear the long diagonal mantle as here.[1] With these figures are shared the strictly frontal pose with legs nearly together and the columnar

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[1] Fullerton 1987, 261-265.

pattern of skirt drapery created by the central and framing pleats and diaphanous treatment over the legs. The Copenhagen statuette, from Amorgos, resembles quite closely such figures from Hellenistic East Greece, while the Attic[2] statue in London displays more of the stiffness in pattern characteristic of neo-Attic archaistic work. There is a strong likelihood that these statues are also Artemis-Hekate votives; their date could be either late Hellenistic or Roman.

Two more statues (Fig.80-81) are characterized by the rendering of vertical fold bundles separated by areas of flat, smooth, clinging drapery. That this type is Attic is suggested by the Attic provenience of both figures and the occurrence of figures in a similar style on neo-Attic reliefs. Other neo-Attic features include the tightly curled spiral shoulder locks, and the nearly Archaic treatment of chiton folds (A3). The overgarment arrangement and plastic chiton folds are neo-Attic traits borrowed from East Greek Hellenistic dancer figures. However, the static pose and skirt-pulling gesture is that of the Archaic korai, and the the patera in the hand of the London statue (A3) would suggest a votive function. The type seems to reflect a Hellenistic re-creation of the Archaic votive kore through the modification of the lively and decorative Hellenistic archaistic dancer figure. The figures themselves could be Hellenistic in date, but since Hellenistic styles persist in the Greek-speaking world virtually unchanged, they may well have been carved in Imperial times.[3]

More likely a Hellenistic creation, the statuette from Delos bears a similarity to the Artemis on the Athens-Delos four gods relief type which has been pointed out by Marcadé. He suggests that the statuette functioned as a votive to Artemis and the use of archaism is a reference to the antiquity of the cult on Delos. Despite its chiastic pose, its frontality, central pleat, and flanking vertical accents in the skirt drapery connect it to the Hellenistic Artemis-Hekate figures. The statuette from Corinth (Fig.82) is probably also a votive kore. It does not bear any of the traits of Artemis-Hekate figures, and its more thoroughly Archaic looking style is more consistent with neo-Attic than East Greek works. However, the small size, type of marble, soft doughy style, and piecing technique are

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[2] The entry in the British Museum catalogue reads, "From the smaller temple at Rhamnous. Presented by J. Gandy Deering, Esq." A recent re-examination of Gandy Deering's notebooks has shown that the statue found there and donated by him is the archaistic basin bearer (Sc 152). If the cataloguer transposed the proveniences of the two pieces, then the archaistic statue (A1) would be, "from Athens? Elgin coll." In any case the Pentelic marble speaks strongly for Attic manufacture. B. Ch. Petrakou, *ArchEph*, 1979, 54-55, fig. 20. Fullerton 1986b, 211-212, n.32.

[3] Note that the fragment (IE3) which was found on the Akropolis is very similar to these two figures in style. It thus helps confirm both the Attic origin and votive function of the type.

features recognized by Merker as characteristic of Rhodian Hellenistic sculpture.[4] Since the piece was not excavated but rather was a stray find somewhere in the vicinity of Old Corinth, one cannot even tell whether it is Hellenistic or, like most sculpture in Corinth, Roman. Its closeness to Archaic forms would tend to favor the latter.

The three Roman statues in Madrid (Fig.83), the Vatican (Fig.84), and Dresden (Fig.85) are derived ultimately from the East Greek Hellenistic archaistic style represented by the Pergamon Dancer. The Madrid statue (IA7) is quite close to the type and could be classed with a group of Roman statues of Eastern Mediterranean origin which reproduce the Hellenistic figure type quite closely.[5] The fringe along the garment's open edge is an unusual feature. The Vatican statue (IA8) represents a greater interest in linear patterning while maintaining the freedom of pose and animated drapery style typical of East Greek Hellenistic Archaistic work. It is similar in style to some Dionysiac figures considered above and two other statues considered below (IC1-2). The basketlike object in its left arm suggests that it may be, like them, a Bacchic votive statue.[6] The Dresden statue (IA9) presents yet another variation on the same general type. Features which separate it from the first two statues include its archaizing stiff-legged pose and the asymmetrical overfold arrangement which recalls the Archaic short mantle. Its lack of central skirt pleat is especially unusual.

The torso in the Terme (IA10) is included here since its overgarment is fastened at the shoulder only, but its arrangement is not quite like any other considered here. The heaviness of material and its fastening at the left rather than right shoulder are features of the Dionysiac nebris, but the zig-zag pattern at its edge is more appropriate to cloth. The sculptor may have intended to represent a maenad and simply confused the two kinds of dress. The figure shows a general similarity to the Hellenistic basin-bearers at Eleusis and a related Demeter type.[7]

But for the lack of the skirt-pulling gesture, the kore in Brussels (IB1) (Fig.86) might have been classified with the Spes statues in chapter 5. Like them, it wears an Archaic garment rendered in Roman style—chiton with crinkly folds and short mantle fastened along the right shoulder and upper arm—and it appears to have held an attribute in its extended right hand. Among the Roman Spes statues, the Rinaldi kore in Berlin (5A6) is closest in style to the Brussels piece; they share an intermediate position between faithful reproduction of Archaic style and the very free archaistic style of

[4] Merker 1973, 6.
[5] Fullerton 1987, 269-272.
[6] Cf. Lippold who describes this ill-preserved attribute as "korbähnlichen."
[7] Fullerton 1986b, 208-209.

Hellenistic and later Imperial times. Both have the loose linear treatment of himation folds emanating from the buttons and skirt treatment with deeply cut central pleat and drapery clinging to the legs. A specific feature they share is the unusual treatment of himation ruffles as a series of discrete pleats. The mantle of the Patras kore (IB2) is similarly fastened along the upper arm like a short Ionic mantle, but the two layers of skirt drapery indicate that the different mantle forms are here again confused. If the object in its left arm were better preserved, its identification would be easier. The fact that it holds something suggests that it once functioned as a votive offering bearer, like the Vatican kore (IA8).

Two statues in the Terme (IC1-2) (Figs.87-88) would seem to form a group. they are of the same scale, style, material, and technique, and their garments differ only in the presence of a belt on the male figure. The style of these figures most closely resembles that of certain Dionysiac figures considered above (6IB). There is the same archaism of pose and garment type combined with fully developed drapery style. This style shows the same elaboration of linear patterning contrasted with smooth plastic form in the clinging fabric over the legs. Also shared with this group is a penchant for superimposition of garments; of these, the wrapped mantle is seen to be an especially popular Dionysiac garb; it is draped in much the same manner here as there. Despite the lack of attributes, therefore, the garment and style of these two statues suggest a Dionysiac connection. They may be meant to represent Dionysos and a maenad, or it is also possible that they were portrait statues, presumably of a man and wife, made for dedication in a Dionysiac cult area. The technique and style suggest a second century A.C. date.

Although the head and body of the Albani figure (ID1) (Fig.89) are of different types of marble, similarity in style and surface preservation have led scholars to accept that they belong together. Sitte identified two other replicas of this head and postulated a prototype for the entire Albani figure in the first century B.C. on the basis of "Pasitelean" mixing of styles. The hairstyle shows some similarity to that of the Minerva of Poitiers (3IIA), but the face lacks both the fleshiness and the Archaic animation of that first century B.C. type. Its hard classicism and stern expression is rather more like Herdejürgen's Julio-Claudian type, and the statue itself should date well into the Imperial epoch, as Sitte himself recognized. Despite the relatively symmetrical pattern of overfold drapery and the prominent central pleat, this is not the standard form of archaistic peplophoros. The mass of drapery at the right is an obvious borrowing from the archaistic diagonal mantle; the statue represents then yet another conflation of types. The lack of attributes and lack of parallel for the type makes identification impossible, as is also the case for the Louvre statue (ID2)

(Fig.90) which is furthermore so badly preserved that any assessment must remain guesswork. The modern restorations as Spes, suggested presumably by the archaistic style, are not borne out by our study of that personification in chapter five. The three identical pleats of the overfold are an unusual feature seen elsewhere only on the Dresden and Corinth Athenas. The style of rendering the pleats and zig-zags is most reminiscent of that on the Leningrad Athena (3IIIB2) which has two such pleats. The piece may then derive from an Athena type, and its "bib" could reflect an aegis on the prototype; what this statue is itself intended to represent is impossible to tell.

Three pieces (IE1-3) are too fragmentarily preserved to be assigned to any of these groups on the basis of garment. Of these, a kore from the Athenian Akropolis would seem to be an archaistic votive quite similar to the statue in Brussels (IB1); since its right shoulder is not preserved, however, the exact nature of its garment cannot be determined.[8] The piece from Eleusis (IE2) is quite similar to this, insofar as it is preserved. The other Akropolis fragment (IE3) was mentioned above as being similar in type to the Hellenistic London and Paris korai (IA3-4). The practice of dedicating archaistic korai on the Akropolis is intriguing; one might surmise that it is related to the large number of Archaic korai dedicated there, were it not for the fact that we generally assume these were not visible after 480 B.C. One might further note that other archaistic sculptures in the form of perirrhanteria were found both at Eleusis (in some quantity) and on the Akropolis.[9]

II. Archaistic Narrative Figures

As mentioned above, these two pieces suggest by their poses involvement in an active scene. Although in neither case is any portion of an accompanying figure preserved, groups have been postulated on the basis of the action.

The Vienna Amazon is one of the few archaistic statues from an excavated context. The bath in which it was found is datable to the second century A.C.. and most scholars accept this date for the statue as well.[10] Its

[8] The upper torso fragment restored on this piece in the museum photograph reproduced here is no longer attached and is not published in *AMA*. I have not seen this piece and do not know its inventory number.

[9] Fullerton 1986b, 208-209, 211.

[10] The Amazon was actually purchased from the estate of J. Barth in 1827. It is assumed to have come from excavations carried out in the eighteenth century by the Archduchess Marianne in the bath area at Virunum. The leg fragment was excavated in this area in 1903, thus confirming the provenence. The fragment was found in a well, thus it is not necessarily to be associated with the bath itself. Building activity in the area was

combination of archaistic patterns—e.g. zig-zags and swallowtails—with more Classical catenaries and modelling folds recalls the freer archaistic styles of Hellenistic East Greece which seem to have enjoyed revival during Hadrianic and Antonine times. There seems no reason to doubt that the statue is contemporary with the bath.

The fact that the Amazon is clearly dying and falling indicates that it probably once formed part of some sort of narrative scene.[11] It has been seen as part of a group of Achilles and Penthesileia, although the nature of its prototype is debated. Furtwängler argues that this putative group and a gem in the British Museum both reflect a late Archaic painting, while Loewy believes the prototype was a sculptural group of the Early Classical period.[12] Bulle, on the other hand, claims that it could not have been part of such a group, since it does not kneel, as does the the figure on the London gem, and since no trace of Achilles is preserved. He prefers to see it as a single figure derived from a late Archaic or early Classical painting and as representing a single collapsing Amazon—a sort of *vulnerata deficiens*.

Both interpretations present problems. Two further observations are inconsistent with the identification as part of an Achilles-Penthesileia group. Not only is the piece fully finished all around and thus apparently intended to be seen from all sides, but also a thigh wound would not be expected on a Penthesileia figure. A falling figure like Bulle suggests would be possible if the statue originally stood as presently displayed, but the fall of the drapery pleats indicates that the figure was originally tilted considerably further to the left than it is now. Given the lack of parallels, it is difficult to tell just how the Amazon was originally displayed or what it was intended to signify. It is tempting to picture it as part of a Amazonomachy scene analogous to the groups of dying Niobids or Pergamene Gauls, but there is absolutely no evidence for the existence of any related figure among the sculptures from this site.[13] Statues of wounded Amazons in Classical (and classicizing?) style were popular in Roman times.[14] Perhaps this was a more dramatic version of the genre. Why the archaistic style was used is a mystery. The Amazon seems too thoroughly a creation in later style to be derived from a particular Archaic prototype

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strongest in the second and third centuries A.C., and it is generally assumed that the Amazon, together with the other sculpture from these excavations, dates to the later second century.

[11] Although Piccottini's suggestion that she is turning to look at her wound remains a possibility.

[12] A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik* (Berlin 1893) 287 n.3. E. Loewy, *Catalogue of Gems in the British Museum* (London 1928) 77, no.634, pl.11.

[13] H. Kenner and C. Praschniker, *Der Baderbezirk von Virunum* (Vienna 1947) 97-98.

as suggested by Furtwängler and Bulle. Possibly the style functions here as an allusion to the heroic past.

The extreme peculiarity of the Gardner Odysseus (Fig.91) had been seen as evidence against its authenticity until Poulsen securely identified it with a "Ulisse" found in Rome and reported by Lanciani. In light of its dissimilarity from both Archaic and archaistic works, only an unimpeachable excavation pedigree could prevent its classification as a forgery. Anatomically, as Poulsen points out, the figure recalls the late Archaic pedimental figures from Aigina. The head with its classicizing face and drilled archaizing curls recalls the Roman herms based on "Alkamenean" types. The stiffly pleated chlamys with zig-zag edge is an imitation of Archaic style; it is the only occurrence of an archaistic chlamys in statuary in the round.[15] If the rendering here was based on a specific Archaic prototype, it was probably a painting.

The pilos assures the identification as Odysseus and the pose makes practically certain its original placement in a palladion-stealing scene. Ridgway postulates a small pedimental group with a central archaistic palladion and a corresponding figure of Diomedes. Certainly, Odysseus' flat composition and pictorial outline makes it appropriate to such a position. Harrison has suggested that two fragments of an archaistic warrior from the Agora may belong to a pedimental group executed as a Roman repair, but Ridgway prefers to see the Agora fragments as well as the Odysseus as Roman creations.[16] In the case of the "Ulisse" at least she is surely correct; its Roman material and provenience as well as its non-Archaic impression shows it to be an Imperial creation. Ridgway suggests that the pedimental groups may come from a naiskos of Athena/Minerva. If originally located in the gardens of Sallust, where it was excavated, it may also have adorned a small secular decorative structure. It would appeal to the well-documented Roman taste for mythological narrative groups in decorative contexts.[17] The archaistic style may here, as for the Amazon, be a reference to the heroic past designed to satisfy the antiquarian interests of the Imperial educated class.

[14] For example, the Ephesian group of Amazons: B.S. Ridgway, *AJA* 78 (1974) 1-17. Ridgway first seriously raised the question of whether some of the types may be classicizing rather than Classical. More recently, (1981, 244-245) she summarizes the reactions to her suggestion and updates the bibliography on the subject. See now also Landwehr 1985, 60-76. K. Hartswick, *JdI* 101 (1986) 127-136.

[15] Harrison 1965, 59-61, for the archaistic chlamys, which is rare even on reliefs.

[16] Harrison 1965, 76.

[17] Such as at Sperlonga where there was a very different group depicting this same story. For domestic garden sculpture cf. Hill 1981, esp. p.85 for archaistic examples.

Catalogue

I. Anonymous Draped Figures

A. Figures with Mantle Fastened at Shoulder

1. London, British Museum Sc 154 FIG 78

Pentelic Marble PH 1.52 m.

Draped female standing squarely with left leg slightly advanced. It wears the long diagonal himation fastened at the right shoulder over a long chiton. Above the himation the chiton shows no crinkly folds while over the feet these are rendered in a manner roughly imitative of Archaic examples. From Attica (Rhamnous?) O. Rossbach, *AthMitt* 15 (1890) 64-65, n.1. Smith 1892-1904, 72, no.154. Bulle 1918, 13, n.43, no.26. Herdejürgen 1968, 84, no.b)3, pl.15a.

2. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek H20 (inv.1196) FIG 79

Island Marble PH: 0.44 m.

Draped female figure standing squarely with left leg very slightly advanced and wearing long diagonal himation fastened at right shoulder over a long thin chiton. From Amorgos. EA 3768 (F. Poulsen). Schmidt 1922, 50, n.12. F. Poulsen 1951, 40, no.20, pl.2. E. Bielefeld, *IstMitt* 12 (1962) 41, n.51. Herdejürgen 1968, 84.

3. London, British Museum Sc 153 FIG 80

Pentelic Marble PH: 0.53 m.

Draped female figure stands with right leg advanced and wears long diagonal himation fastened at right shoulder over a chiton. Three long locks are preserved on each shoulder and part of a patera is preserved in the right hand. From Athens. Smith 1892-1904, 72, no.153. Bulle 1918, 13, no.17. Schmidt 1922, 21, pl.10. Herdejürgen 1968, 84, no.b)4.

4. Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 2717 FIG 81

White Greek Marble PH: 0.17 m.

Draped female torso stands with right leg slightly advanced and wears long diagonal himation fastened at the right shoulder over a thin chiton. Three long locks are preserved on either shoulder. Formerly in the Gréau collection, originally from Athens. W. Fröhner, *Collection J. Gréau, Catalogue de terres cuites grèques* (Paris 1891) no.1287, pl. 67.

5. Delos, Archaeological Museum No. A5294

Greek Island Marble PH: 0.29 m.

Draped female figure which stands frontally, although its weight is borne on the left leg and the left shoulder is noticeably raised. It wears a long chiton and long diagonal himation fastened at the right shoulder and open along the right side. Head and arms are missing. From Delos, provenience unspecified. Marcadé 1969, 212, 303 n.2, 432, pl.54.

6. Corinth, Archaeological Museum No. S2411 FIG 82

White large-grain marble

Draped female stands squarely with left leg slightly advanced and wears chiton and long (?) diagonal himation fastened at right shoulder and open along right side. Forearms, once dowelled on, are missing. Head and feet are broken away. Stray find in the vicinity of Corinth. Unpublished.

7. Madrid, Museo del Prado No.63 FIG 83

Fine-grained White Marble PH: 0.74 m.

Draped female figure stands with weight on right leg with left leg slightly bent. It wears chiton and long fringed himation with overfold fastened at the right shoulder. Head is a restoration. Both arms from point of insertion into sleeve are missing. EA 1505 (Arndt). A. Blanco, *Museo del Prado, Catalogo de la Escultura* (Madrid 1957) no.63E, pl.32 (w/previous bibliography). Gualandi 1976, 165.

8. Vatican Museums, Galleria dei Candelabri No. 140a FIG 84

Fine-grained White Marble PH: 1.02 m.

Draped female stand with right leg advanced and wears chiton with long(?) diagonal mantle fastened at right shoulder. Another mantle, apparently worn over the head, falls down the back and is pulled forward over the left shoulder. Two shoulder locks are preserved over each breast. An unidentifiable object is held in the left hand. Head, most of the right arm, most of left hand with part of object in it, and lower legs and feet are all broken away. Lippold 1956, 253. no.28 (140a), pl.112.

9. Dresden, Skulpturensammlung No. 30 FIG 85

Marble PH: 0.766 m.

Draped female figure stands with right leg advanced and wears chiton with long diagonal mantle fastened at the right shoulder. Both arms,

once dowelled on at the shoulders, are now missing. Head and neck have broken away. Herrmann 1925, 17, no.30.

10. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano No. 584

Carrara Marble PH: 0.37 m.

Fragment preserves upper torso of female figure wearing chiton and heavy diagonal garment. One wavy shoulder lock remains on each breast. Preserved is section from neck to girding beneath the breasts. Right arm from mid-upper arm, once dowelled on, is now missing. Left arm is broken away. E. Homann-Wedeking, *RömMitt* 55 (1940) 209. Paribeni 1953, 47, no.77. Herdejürgen 1968, 74 n.460. Giuliano 1981 (v.I,2), 333-334 no.IV 37 (E. Paribeni).

B. Figures with Mantle Fastened along Upper Arm

1. Brussels, Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire No. A1316 FIG 86

Carrara Marble PH: 0.68 m.

Draped female in chiton and short Ionic mantle stands with right leg slightly advanced. Preserves torso from neck to knees. Head, once inset, is missing; right forearm and left arm are broken away. F. Cumont, *Catalogue des scultures et inscriptions antiques* (Brussels 1913) 5-7, no.2. Herdejürgen 1968, 74.

2. Patras, Archaeological Museum

White Greek Marble PH: 1.05 m.

Draped female figure wears chiton and long diagonal mantle fastened like an Ionic mantle along the right shoulder and upper arm. Figure stands with left leg advanced. Head, right forearm, and feet, once attached separately, are now missing. Left hand and most of the object it once held are now missing. *Deltion* 13 (1930-1931) Beibl. 38, no.3, fig.5.

C. Figures with Wrapped Mantle

1. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano No. 61531 FIG 87

Carrara Marble PH: 1.31 m.

Draped female figure stands with right leg advanced and wears chiton, long diagonal mantle fastened at right shoulder (ungirt), and long wrapped mantle. Two shoulder locks preserved over each breast. Head,

right arm from mid-upper arm, left forearm, all once attached separately, are now missing. Front of right foot now broken away. Excavated in Rome, 1891. S. Ricci, *BullComm*, 1891, 202-203. R. Paribeni, *BdA* 8 (1914) 278, fig.2 on 281. Herdejürgen 1968, 74 n.457. Giuliano 1981 (v. I,2), 268-267 no.III,57 (L. de Lachenal).

2. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano No. 167 FIG 88
Carrara Marble Same scale as IC1. Male (?) figure draped as no.C1 above, except girt under short overfold. No shoulder locks; head, right arm, left forearm missing. Front of both feet broken away. Herdejürgen 1968, 74, n.457. Giuliano 1981 (v.I,2), 271-272, no.III,59.

D. Peplophoroi

1. Rome, Villa Albani No. 989 FIG 89

Body: Greyish Marble Head: White Marble H: 1.65 m.
Draped female figure stands with left leg advanced and wears chiton with peplos fastened at left shoulder and along right upper arm. Restorations: top of head, nose, locks between head and body, lower part of neck, right forearm and hand, left arm from mid-upper arm, front of left foot, lower parts of two long sections of hanging drapery, other smaller parts of drapery. H. Sitte, *ÖJh* 15 (1912) 271-278, figs. 178-180. Bulle 1918, 10, no.9, pl.1. EA 4678-4680 (Lippold, 1940).

2. Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 673 FIG 90

Carrara Marble H:1.25 m.
(restored) Torso of draped female figure wearing long garment with overfold fastened at both shoulders. Preserves only section from neck to right hip and left mid-thigh. W. Fröhner 1889, 475.

E. Fragmentary Figures

1. Athens, Akropolis Museum Inv nos. 3712 + 454

Pentelic Marble PH: 0.815 m.
Draped female figure stands with legs together and wears long (?) diagonal mantle over thin chiton. Langlotz 1939, 146, no.143, fig.115.

2. Eleusis, Archaeological Museum Inv. no.5127

Pentelic Marble PH: 0.50 m.

Fragment from mid-section of draped figure. Stands with left leg advanced. Apparently wears diagonal himation. Unpublished

3. Athens, Akropolis Museum Inv. nos. 3725 + 348

Pentelic Marble PH: 0.408

Fragment from mid-section of archaistic figure similar to nos. 1,2 above. Another fragment (inv. no. 3515, PH:0.159 m.) has been associated with the first on the basis of style, but its precise relationship is not certain. Langlotz 1939, 146, no.139, figs. 112-113. Harrison 1965, 52 n.16. Herdejürgen 1968, 82.

II. Archaistic Narrative Figures

A. Female Figures

1. Vienna, Kunsthistorische Museum No. I 164

White Fine-Grain Marble PH: 0.73 m.

Female figure draped in chitoniskos and short mantle fastened at the right shoulder. Figure appears to be collapsing to its left side with its helmeted head falling to the left. Both arms from shoulders, right leg from below knee, left leg from hip are all broken away. Also preserved is non-joining fragment of left thigh with wound, and fragment of plinth with quiver. From area of baths at Virunum (Noricum). G. Piccottini, *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani* 2^1 (Vienna 1968) 18-19, pl.16-18, with full bibliography.

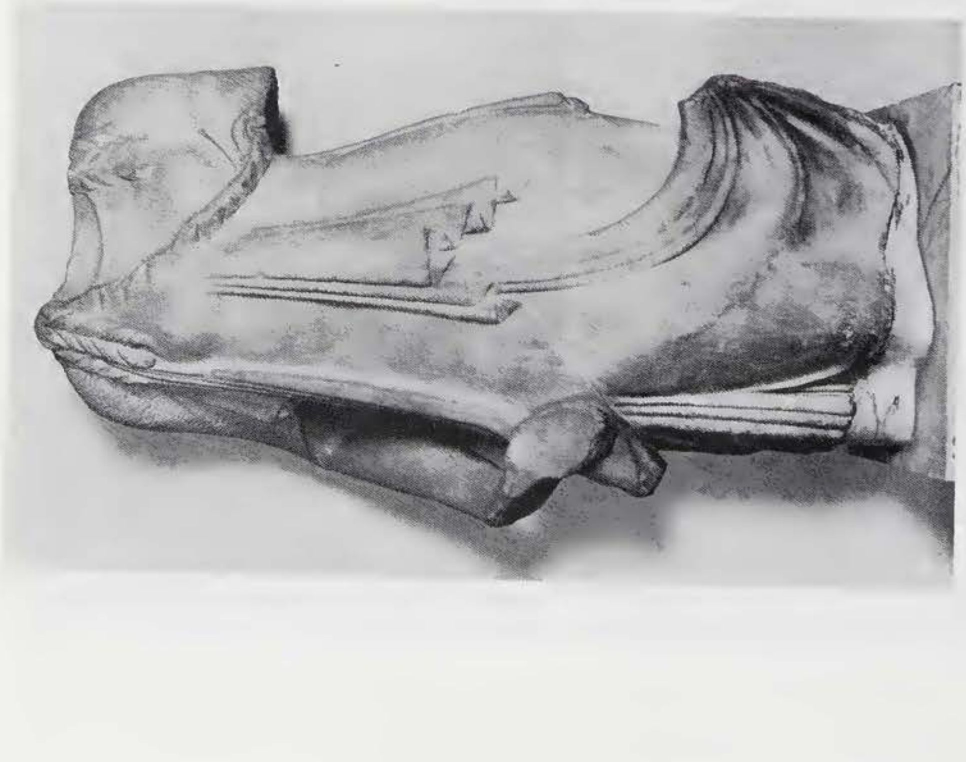
B. Male Figures

1. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum S5s23 FIG 91

Pentelic (Vermeule) Marble H: 0.65 m.

Male figure crawls forward with weight on sharply bent left leg; right leg is outstretched behind, left arm is stretched forward and right arm is bent and held back. He wears a chlamys fastened behind the right shoulder which covers the left arm and a pilos on his head. Right leg from below knees and sword from in front of hilt are broken away. Found in 1885 in the Gardens of Sallust at Rome. R. Lanciani, *Nsc*, 1885, 516. V. Poulsen, *ActaA* 25 (1954) 301-304. Ridgway 1977, 314. Vermeule 1977, 12, no.14.

78. London, British Museum Sc154—Archaistic Kore, Cat.8IA1—[Courtesy, Trustees of the British Museum]
79. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek H 20 (Inv.1196)—Archaistic Kore, Cat. 8IA2—[Courtesy, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen]



80. London, British Museum Sc153—Archaistic Kore, Cat. 8IA3—[Courtesy, Trustees of the British Museum]
81. Paris, Musée du Louvre MA2717—Archaistic Kore, Cat. 8IA4—[M. Chuzeville photo, reproduced courtesy of Musée du Louvre, Paris]

82. Corinth, Archaeological Museum no.S2411—Archaistic Kore, Cat. 8IA6—[Courtesy, American School of Classical Studies, Corinth Excavations]
83. Madrid, Museo del Prado no.63—Archaistic Kore, Cat. 8IA7—[Courtesy of the Museo del Prado, Madrid]

84. Vatican Museums, Galleria dei Candelabri no.140A—Archaistic Kore, Cat8IA8—[Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom 42-1375]
85. Dresden, Skulpturensammlung no.30—Archaistic Kore, Cat. 8IA9—[Courtesy, Skulpturensammlung—Staatliche Kunstsammlung Dresden]

86. Brussels, Musée Royaux du Cinquantenaire no.A1316—Archaistic Kore, Cat. 8IB1—[photo ACL, Bruxelles]
87. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano no.G1531—Archaistic Statue, Cat. 8IC1—[Author, reproduced courtesy of the Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma]

88. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano no.167—Archaistic Statue, Cat. 8IC2—[Author, reproduced courtesy of the Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma]
89. Rome, Villa Albani no.989—Archaistic Kore, Cat. 8ID1—[Alinari 27706]

90. Paris, Musée du Louvre no.MA673—Archaistic Kore, Cat. 8ID2—[M. Chuzeville photo, reproduced courtesy of Musée du Louvre, Paris]
91. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum no.S5s23—Statue of Odysseus, Cat. 8IIB1—[Courtesy, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston]

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS

Style

One critical question emerges from the essentially stylistic treatments presented in the previous chapters: is there any such thing as a Roman archaistic style? One of the hallmarks of Roman art is its eclecticism. Scholars have come to appreciate more fully in recent decades that the imposition of an organic system of formal development onto the great body of Roman sculpture is unrealistic and inaccurate. We know what characterizes the art of the late Republic and early Empire, and likewise the very different style of the late Empire is familiar to us, but how the one evolved from the other is a complex process we are only beginning to understand.[1] In one respect, this problem can be considered a Hellenistic legacy. Like the Hellenistic world, the Roman empire embraced lands far removed from its original cultural center and created works of art for purposes which were quite alien to the relatively homogeneous political and social systems of Classical Greece and Republican Rome. Like their Hellenistic counterparts, Roman artists and patrons were therefore able to choose from a variety of styles that which was most appropriate to the subject, function, and location of the project in question. In addition, a characteristically Italian contribution has been identified in what Brendel refers to as the ''dualism'' of Roman art, that is, the popularity of very different styles among different social classes.[2] As a result, Roman art may justly be considered even more eclectic than that of the Hellenistic period.[3]

How then does Roman archaistic statuary fit in this broader scheme of things? One can easily see that the use of an archaistic style by definition presupposes some degree of stylistic eclecticism, but archaism was not simply one selection among the stylistic possibilities available to the Roman sculptor. Archaistic statuary created in Roman times displays a degree of variety and eclecticism internal to the style which far exceeds that of the Hellenistic era. One can speak justifiably about a ''Classical'', ''Neo-Attic,'' or ''East Greek Hellenistic'' archaistic style (cf. chapter 1),

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[1] The most useful historiographical articulation of this problem in English is still the essay by Otto Brendel, ''Prolegomena to a Book on Roman Art'' *MAAR* 21 (1953) 9-73. Reissued together with his 1969 essay, ''Roman Art in Modern Perspective'' as *Prolegomena to the Study of Roman Art* (New Haven 1979).

[2] This view was not originated, but was certainly popularized, by the works of Ranuccio Bianchi-Bandinelli. See on this, J.J. Pollitt in his forward to *Prolegomena* (1979) xii.

[3] For the eclecticism of Hellenistic art the most recent and most lucid treatment is to be found in Pollitt 1986, especially ch.1.

and these styles can each be associated with a particular time and place. It is clear from the preceding chapters, however, that Roman sculptors used all of these different styles, often combining them with one another and with stylistic features not found in any of them. Roman archaistic sculptures thus betray far more eclecticism than those from earlier times.[4]

In addition to this increased eclecticism, the Roman contribution also consists of those particular stylistic features which were either introduced or especially favored by Roman sculptors. Most characteristic is a direct imitation of Archaic prototypes which involves both entire sculptures and particular details. The former includes not only the very obvious example of the archaistic korai but also the Dresden Athena, which is quite obviously copied after an identifiable and extant Archaic work. The most frequently imitated individual features are the short diagonal mantle, the pattern of chiton folds, and the archaistic face. Whereas the Ionic himation is almost almost completely avoided in pre-Roman archaistic sculpture,[5] it is common on Roman archaistic sculptures.[6] Even more popular on Roman works is the himation overfold rendered illogically in close imitation of the short Ionic mantle.[7] Similarly, the form of the crinkly chiton folds, which on some Roman statuary[8] is extremely close to true Archaic renderings, is rendered much more freely on earlier works.[9] On some other Roman sculptures,[10] the artist has taken pains to imitate the pattern of Archaic chiton folds more than their form.

Archaistic faces may not have been invented in Roman times, but they certainly become more common on works of Roman date. The chronology of this feature is difficult, not least because so few statues preserve a head, but those works earlier than the first century B.C. which do retain

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[4] The two Hellenistic styles are clearly more common in Roman works than is the Classical, but the latter was even in Classical times used rarely and for very limited purposes. The question of preference between the two Hellenistic styles is considered below as a feature of chronological development.

[5] Where contemporary garb, like the peplos, wrapped mantle, or long diagonal himation with overfold, is favored. The obvious exception to this is the Epidauros palladion and, perhaps the Argive Heraion idol. But these, like the peplophoros idols from the other Heraion pediment, the Parthenon metopes, and the Vivenzio hydria, were deliberately modelled after Archaic forms since they were intended actually to represent ancient statues. The other manifestations of archaism in Classical and Hellenistic times seem to have been of an entirely different nature.

[6] E.g., the korai again as well as the Spes figures which are rather less thoroughly Archaic in style.

[7] This is considered above in connection with the Dresden and Herculaneum Athenas. Cf. also the Doria and Albani 983 Dionysos figures.

[8] E.g., the Tyche of Munich type.

[9] On these it resembles the texturing of cloth which becomes popular in late Classical times. Again the idols mentioned above are exceptions for the reasons cited. But note that even these renderings, while purporting to look Archaic, are not nearly so close as are some Roman versions. Otherwise the first firmly datable archaistic figures wearing the chiton are the Samothrace maidens, who already wear the textured version.

[10] E.g., the Albani 983 Dionysos.

their original heads show Classical or classicizing facial features.[11] Beginning in the first century B.C. heads with archaistic features become increasingly common and follow a stylistic development from a fleshy Ionian type to a harder classicizing type.[12] While this feature, like the details of drapery outlined above, would indicate a greater interest among the Romans than among their predecessors in the imitation of things Archaic, it is also noteworthy that none of these archaistic faces really look like anything Archaic. While they reflect some of the more obvious aspects of the Archaic face, such as the ubiquitous smile[13] and the protruding cheeks and chin, none of the fundamental structural qualities of Archaic art is appreciated. These heads do not attempt to reproduce the quadrifaciality of Archaic sculpture, nor are the features rendered with any regard to the Archaic impermeability of the stone. On the contrary, the planes of the face do not meet at sharp angles, and the eyes, for example, are set into rather than carved flatly onto the head's frontal surface. Although imitation of Archaic forms for faces as well as for drapery is explicit and intentional, it is nonetheless superficial.

This imitative nature, more than anything else, is what separates Roman archaism from that of earlier times. This may seem a strange observation since an archaistic style is imitative by definition. However, the archaistic style of Classical and Hellenistic times reflects in its forms a minimal interest in imitation for its own sake. The artists of these earlier periods generally used borrowed Archaic formulae as decorative elements in monuments which were in most ways entirely un-Archaic. That Roman works display much greater interest in the reproduction of actual Archaic forms should come as no surprise. The Romans were, after all, more interested in oldness for its own sake than the Hellenic or Hellenistic civilizations seem to have been (cf. below). Moreover, the Romans, like the Etruscans before them, were imitative by nature, especially in their art. Thus if we characterize Roman archaistic sculpture as being at once more eclectic and more imitative than that of pre-Roman times, this distinction is in accord with what we know of Roman art in general.

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[11] E.g. the Pergamon dancer or the Parian Artemis. Fullerton 1987, 262, 266-268. Figures on Neo-Attic reliefs also have classicizing features. Crucial for this development is the Tralles karyatid type whose date ranges from ca. 100 B.C. to the Augustan era. The idol on the Xenokrateia relief has a certain heaviness in its facial features which may be intended to make it look venerable, but it is not obviously archaistic; on this relief, Ridgway 1981, 131-134, fig.97. The only clear example of archaistic facial features on a monument which may be Hellenistic is found on the little figures of Artemis and Apollo on the famous votive relief in Munich. Again we are dealing with figures which are intended to imitate statues, although the drapery in this case is not Archaic but purely archaistic. In any case the date of this monument is by no means fixed; it may be first century or even later.

[12] This development is outlined elsewhere (supra p.24).

[13] Even this disappears on most Imperial work.

Chronology and development

There are two major obstacles to the construction of a coherent pattern of stylistic development for archaistic sculpture in Roman times. The more obvious is the nearly total lack of monuments which are absolutely datable from external evidence.[14] Most of the sculptures in this study are dated on the basis of stylistic comparison with dated figures, comparison with sculptures rendered in styles other than archaistic, and technical details; these criteria all contain a degree of imprecision and subjectivity. Morever, a considerable number of these statues are copies, and even when a replica is datable it cannot conclusively date the type itself. The second, and more serious, obstacle is in the nature of the archaistic style itself. Since it is retrospective, eclectic, and limited in function, archaism is a style which one would not necessarily expect to follow any kind of organic formal development, but rather, one which is more likely to appear sporadically as the need for it arises. This was shown to have been the case in pre-Roman times; despite the much larger number of Roman monuments, it should serve as a caveat against defining too strictly any development for the Imperial era.

Nonetheless, with the help of the criteria at hand, a general development can be outlined. In the first century B.C., those sculptures traditionally termed "neo-Attic" continued in popularity. During the late Republic, in fact, their production increased greatly as conspicuous artistic consumption became a prominent feature of the politically and socially ambitious at Rome and elsewhere in Italy. During this era of Pasiteles, Arkesilaos, and Stephanos, when a characteristically Roman brand of classicism was emerging, so too did the neo-Attic artists of Rome create a more eclectic archaistic style. One of its manifestations in two-dimensions was identified above as the Capitoline Kallimachos relief; statuary versions include the Minerva of Poitiers, the Tyche of Munich, and the Corinth Hermes Kriophoros types. In this same tradition, but probably Augustan in date, is the Pompeii Artemis type, with its re-elaboration of neo-Attic drapery schemes and its characteristically Roman archaistic face. At the same time, the interest in direct imitation of fifth century forms which characterizes much Augustan art also affects archaistic sculpture, as is most obvious from the Herculaneum Pallas. This statue also represents what has been seen as an "Augustan" form of archaizing with very flat and sharply defined renderings of archaistic linear patterns

[14] Datable monuments include: the Aricia Artemis group: before 43 B.C. (coins of Lariscolus), archaistic Spes figures: before A.D. 43 (coins of Claudius), for both there exist statuary versions, but no clearly identifiable sculptured copy. Also, the Pompeii Artemis type: before 13 B.C. (coins from the mint of Lugdunum); Herculaneum Athena: certainly before A.D. 79 and probably second half of first century B.C. (context); Corinth Athena: third century A.C. (context).

and with rather less intrusion of voluminous and plastic forms than is seen in some other eras.

The first century A.C. is problematic. Herdejürgen has shown that archaistic heads during this century were characterized by a continuation of the classicizing trends of the early Empire. One can only assume that the same was the case for statuary as a whole. The already established types no doubt continued to be reproduced. Coin evidence testifies to the existence of an archaistic Spes type which seems to reflect a loosening of Augustan rigidity in archaistic forms. However, the coins can not tell us whether the major developments in this sculptural type took place in Tiberian, Claudian, or Flavian times. There is evidence that the important developments of the second century were already beginning at this time in the eastern provinces (cf. below).

The most significant development of the next century is of course the revival of interest in the looser, more naturalistic archaistic style which was typical of the Hellenistic period, especially in East Greece. This, like other Hellenistic styles, had enjoyed continued popularity in the eastern Roman Empire. The Sperlonga Palladion is a prominent example of a Julio-Claudian sculpture in Rhodian Hellenistic style; a few architectural sculptures in similar style were found at Asiatic sites in first century contexts.[15] Two developments of the Hadrianic and Antonine periods characterize archaistic statuary of this time. First, the enormous growth in prosperity and importance of Roman cities in Asia Minor resulted in a corresponding increase in building activity. Since most Roman sculpture was produced to adorn buildings in some way, there was a corresponding explosion in the production of marble sculpture. Much of this sculpture was in an East Greek Hellenistic style, and some of it was archaistic. The second development, which results from the first, is a new interest at Rome in creating sculptures in these now popular East Greek styles; it is in this category that a large number of the archaistic statues discussed in this study should fall, especially Dionysiac figures (6IB) and the Borghese and Vatican Apollos (7IA1-2). At the same time, it is important to keep in mind that the earlier "neo-Attic" types continued to be copied at this same time, in archaistic statuary as well as in decorative relief.[16]

The latest datable monument is the third century Athena from Corinth. Like most archaistic sculptures from the mainland of Greece, this statue

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[15] For these Roman statues in Hellenistic style see Fullerton 1987, 270-272. The Sardis Karyatid discussed there is placed by Hanfmann in Julio-Claudian times and the Aphrodisias Melpomenai by Erim in the Flavian era.

[16] The best known example among neo-Attic reliefs is the group of Piraeus reliefs, which are Antonine in date. The Terme, Dresden, and Munich replicas of the Munich Tyche type are probably second century to judge from their workmanship.

is quite thoroughly archaistic in its garment type, garment arrangement, and individual fold patterns. There are no other works from which to infer any general stylistic development during the later Roman Empire. Certainly the rise of Christianity would have eliminated the compelling reasons to create an archaistic statue, and statuary of any kind except portraiture becomes increasingly rare at this time. While classicism persists in the minor arts at least, there is no indication that there was a corresponding interest in archaism. Perhaps the rigid formalism of the "Late Antique" style itself precluded the desire for works in the superficially similar archaistic styles.

It is equally difficult to determine precisely whether any particular period in Roman history displays an especially strong interest in archaistic works. It is commonly asserted that such was prevalent in Augustan and Hadrianic times, a supposition which extends from the standard characterization of these reigns as particularly classicistic. Archaistic works, however, are not so common as those in classicizing style nor is their chronology so well understood. Moreover, despite the prominent role of classicism in the official statue monuments of these two emperors, an interest in classicizing statuary and copies of Classical works was a continuous phenomenon in Roman times, and such was probably the case for archaistic statues as well. Nonetheless, it is clear that there was a definite and specific interest in archaism in the Augustan period. Campana plaques, the Apollo Citharoedus relief type, Arretine pottery, and even literary sources document this fact. Moreover, certain statuary types can be placed in this epoch on relatively secure grounds; some others which are similar in style are likely to have been created at this same time. For the Hadrianic period, one can only observe that the general second century developments outlined above were the result of what was essentially Hadrianic policy, although this policy continued unabated into Antonine times. If the Hadrianic was, in fact, a period of especial interest in the archaistic style, it is strange that we know of no archaistic statuary from the villa at Tibur.[17]

Regionalism

The existence of roughly regional styles in archaistic art is a phenomenon which begins already in the Hellenistic period, and which has already been adequately treated here and elsewhere. The most noteworthy feature of distribution which pertains specifically to these Roman statues is that they rarely occur outside rather limited areas. Admittedly, proveniences are not always known, but on the basis of available information, only a

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[17] The statuary there consists of much that is classicizing or copies of the Classical, and there is a significant amount of Egyptianizing statuary. It may simply be that the archaistic style was not appropriate to the architectural "atmospheres" which the Emperor and his architects were trying to create. On this material see Raeder 1983.

very small handful of these statues were found in the northern, western, and African provinces, and those that were, e.g. the Minerva of Poitiers, were imports from Rome. There is a large concentration in the capital and several important pieces from Pompeii, Herculaneum, and elswhere in Italy. Other pieces have been found at the traditional centers of Hellenic and Hellenistic culture: Corinth, Athens, Pergamon, Smyrna, Cyrene, and Cyprus. The almost complete lack of pieces from such sites as Aphrodisias, Side, and Perge (one archaistic kore) is intriguing, since excavations at these cities have unearthed large numbers of exquisite Roman sculptures, especially copies and classicizing works. Roman archaistic statuary seems therefore to be much more limited in its geographical range than are those works which reflect the Classical style. The style was most popular in those same areas of Greece and Asia Minor which nurtured its Hellenistic development and, most of all, in Rome itself.

Another geographical question concerns statue types; does the distribution of replicas indicate any clear center of diffusion? To Athens can be assigned such essentially neo-Attic types as the Braschi Dionysos and the Tyche of Munich.[18] The existence of high quality versions in Greek marble from Attic sites also would suggest an Athenian origin for the types of the Herculaneum Pallas and the Stamata Dionysos. On the other hand stylistic and iconographic considerations as well as distribution of replicas would indicate a Roman origin for the Pompeii Artemis, the Palermo Athena, and the archaistic Spes type. The Dresden Athena remains unclear; its style would suggest a Roman creation, but it essentially copies a known Archaic original which still stood in Greece during Roman times.[19] In the overall development of archaistic art from Classical through Roman times, Athens and Rome therefore emerge as the most significent centers of production and innovation.

Function

One would very much like to know exactly how and where these statues were displayed and thus what their function might have been. For these questions we are even less fully informed than for those questions already considered, but the very few contexts we do have give some clues. We can say that these statues were displayed both publicly and privately. The Athens replica of the Herculaneum Athena attests to the former and indi-

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[18] This assumption in the latter case finds corroboration in the existence at Athens of an excellent, if fragmentary, replica. Harrison has already suggested that the Agora fragment could be from the original of the type.

[19] Although not, strictly speaking, a statue type, the "Hellenistic" Tyche figures represent the adaptation of a well-known Hellenistic statue type through the addition of attributes. The type adapted was widely known; the transformation could have occurred anywhere.

cates further that even a Greek sanctuary of the importance of the Athenian Akropolis could include a Roman archaistic statue. The distribution would also suggest that such a location was relatively rare, although Eleusis and Laurion at least had perirrhanteria and the former perhaps also a votive kore. The Corinth Hermes Kriophoros and fragments from the Athenian Agora show that such figures could also stand in the public square, but with its many temples and shrines the Agora/Forum was neither in Greek nor Roman times strictly a secular area. For domestic contexts, Pompeii and Herculaneum provide the fullest information. The Naples replica of the Herculaneum Athena type was displayed prominently among the many sculptures recovered from the Villa of the Papyri; in its great size it is a somewhat unusual domestic sculpture, but it was part of a extraordinary scuptural program, and in any event the scale was dictated by the publicly displayed original. Even in this case, when we know exactly where the statue stood and with what it was placed, interpretations differ as to whether the statue had a basically religious or secular significance, and perhaps in this society the question is moot. The Pompeii Artemis is of a scale common to household statuary and was certainly religious, since it was found in a shrine, but it has been shown to have had quite explicit political associations as well. The archaistic Amazon in Vienna was found in a bath and thus could be considered primarily decorative, as its narrative nature would anyway have suggested.

A few further inferences can be drawn from the statues themselves. The vast majority of the Roman statues are approximately one meter in height or only slightly more. Only a very few are life-size or greater. Thus it would seem that most of them, since they are of the scale of decorative garden statuary, probably did, in fact, function in just this way.[20] The Pompeii Artemis, however, reminds us that any of these may also have been religious. The few large statues that do exist may have been cult images, but we have no clear evidence to this effect. Aside from the Herculaneum Athena, these include only a very small number of Dionysos statues. A few life-size figures were probably bodies for votive portrait statues; the scale was in this case dictated by the function. Finally, the Gardner Odysseus (and Pliny NH 36.13) would suggest that archaistic figures could also have been used as architectural sculpture.

[20] Cf. Hill 1981, 85.

Iconography and Motives for Archaizing

Subjects

Such speculations concerning display lead to the final, most important, and most elusive question of all—what did these statues *mean* to the Roman spectator? The most concrete of iconographic questions can be addressed first: which subjects are represented in this style? Aside from the narrative "groups," the portrait bodies, and the anonymous figures, only a handful of deities are represented: Artemis/Diana, Apollo, Athena/Minerva, Tyche/Fortuna, Spes, Hermes/Mercury, and Dionysos/Bacchus with a few of his retinue. This is in strong contrast with the archaistic tradition of neo-Attic reliefs in which most of the Olympians and a variety of minor deities are represented somewhere in archaistic form. The creators of archaistic statuary were obviously more selective, probably because statuary could serve different purposes than the primarily decorative neo-Attic reliefs. Their selections should themselves provide some clue as to what archaism meant when used for statuary, and the most obvious fact is that there is no clear and unifying feature common to these deities. Some are among the major Olympians, but some of the most important (e.g. Mars or Jupiter) do not occur. Others are relatively minor personifications. Therefore, there was probably not one comprehensive motivation for the creation of statuary in an archaistic style; one should then consider what possible motives may have existed and which subjects might have been affected.

Tradition

The simplest and most obvious explanation for the use of an archaistic style is that Roman artists were continuing the archaistic tradition begun in Classical and expanded in Hellenistic times. However, this tradition did not include statuary to any large extent, and as we have seen, the style and choice of subject matter in Roman archaistic statuary is quite different from those of earlier archaistic art. Nonetheless, tradition has been held by many scholars to be a major factor in the development of archaistic forms in Classical times when Archaic forms were retained in order to preserve the value of a particular emblem.[21] In this limited sense we might here include two types of Roman statuary—the Artemis-Hekate figure and the Athena Promachos. The various representations of the former, statuary and otherwise, are (like the hekataia themselves) con-

[21] Thus Pollitt's term, "emblematic archaism." This pertains to Panathenaic Athenas and the Athena head obverse of Classical Athenian coins.

tinued unchanged from Hellenistic into Roman times, and adapted for native Latin Diana cults such as that at Lake Nemi. In the case of the Athena statues, we might focus especially on the Herculaneum type, the two-dimensional nature of which makes clear its derivation from a prototype like the Panathenaic amphorae or the Panathenaic Athenas on early Hellenistic coinage.

On the other hand, to say an image was maintained simply because it was available for reproduction is to beg the issue; even if a particular archaistic image was "traditional," there must have been some further motivation to continue the tradition. In the case of the Panathenaic Athena, what is most striking is her warlike pose, which suggests that some allusion to military prowess may have been intended. The connection with the Panathenaic prize further indicates that the significance could have been more generally agonistic than specifically martial. Both types of accomplishment were widely advertised by public figures in the Classical and Hellenistic periods and this tradition continued undiminished into Roman times. It has been suggested, moreover, that this image on Hellenistic coins was intended as a reference to Athens as a center of culture and learning. Athena/Minerva was, of course, the goddess of wisdom as well as war, paradoxical as that may be to the modern mind. The Attalids placed in their library a Hellenistic version of Pheidias' colossos in the Parthenon; despite the obvious military connection of the prototype, such usage of the copy was deemed perfectly appropriate in the Hellenistic era. Likewise we should remember that the Herculaneum Athena was found in a context with portraits of philosophers as well as rulers, and the structure itself was as much a library as a domicile. The Dresden Athena, moreover, with the gigantomachy scenes on its paryphe revives a Classical Athenian symbol of civilization triumphant over barbarism. The archaistic style for these Athenas was probably at least in part intended as a direct reference to Athens where similar images had long been used as a symbol of accomplishment in the various areas of human endeavor. Given Roman military superiority, it was probably athletic and intellectual achievements which these images were intended to imply, since Athens was in Roman times primarily a cultural center.

Apotropaism and Lustration

The military appearance of the archaistic Athena Promachos figure is not, however, without significance; rather it is a manifestation of her essentially apotropaic quality which is also to be found in the palladion, Athena's other archaistic form. While the former seems to have first found archaistic form as a modernization of a retained Archaic form, the latter probably

was first archaized as a convenient means to emphasize its identity as a statue. In both cases, however, it is likely that the archaistic tradition continued because of the appropriateness of formalized images to a protective function. This applies equally to the obvious example of the Palladion, whether in its Greek or Roman context, to palladion-like statues which function in narrative scenes as points of refuge, and to the very epithet "Promachos" with its implication of a goddess fighting in the first rank on behalf of her city.

The use of archaism in apotropaic images is by no means limited to these Athena types. Apollo, among his many qualities, was an averter of evils of various kinds, especially plagues, and in fact it was in this context that his cult was first introduced into Rome in the fifth century B.C. (Livy 4.25). Apollo Actiacus received great honors from Octavian, since he delivered victory against superior forces and thus prevented what would have been a fatal defeat. In appreciation, a sanctuary was constructed and cult created for Apollo Palatinus, in the immediate vicinity of Augustus' own house. One motivation must have been to surround his family with this god's protective forces. This templum is known from a variety of sources to have included archaistic sculpture. While the cult statue in this case was certainly not archaistic, we know from coins that some images of both Apollo Actiacus and Diana Sicilia were rendered in this style. Certainly the Pompeii Artemis and perhaps the two archaistic draped Apollos can be related to these cults, and their archaistic style is at least partially explained by their essentially protective nature. At least two replicas of the Artemis type originally stood in a domestic context, and these have already been related to the archaistic household Apollos. Here both deities must also have had a primarily protective function.

One of the very earliest uses of an archaistic style is, of course, on Classical apotropaic devices. The Hekate Epipyrgidia of Alkamenes canonized the use of archaistic drapery on triple-bodied hekataia already in the second half of the fifth century. At about the same time, and perhaps by the same sculptor, archaistic herms were first created. Archaistic drapery features are also found on perirrhanteria-korai at least as early as the fourth century. All three types of figures functioned at once as horoi for temenoi and protective images, and the use of an archaistic style has been variously explained. Schmidt suggested that hekataia were archaized because the unreal nature of a triple-bodied figure demanded a style even less naturalistic than that of the High Classical era in order to emphasize the statuary nature of the creation. This explanation can certainly be extended as well to the herm, the perirrhanterion-kore, and also the karyatid, but it may not be the entire explanation as it seems only to address the aesthetic side of the question. In actual fact, the most popular

apotropaic devices, e.g. sphinxes, griffins, or gorgoneia, are nearly always creatures that are patently unreal; since these are intended to avert evils not perceptible to the human eye, they must themselves be creatures that transcend human sensory experience. Moreover, they are objects which in order to function properly must be ever-lasting and absolutely immobile, without even the slightest suggestion that they are able to abandon their posts. The use of a style which is basically formalistic rather than naturalistic can only enhance these qualities of unreality, permanence, and stasis.[22]

The perirrhanteria, of course, have one function beyond those of the other apotropaic boundary markers—that of lustration; there is some indication that this aspect may be shared with other archaistic images. Simon interprets the Augustan Citharoedus relief type as a depiction of Apollo's purification after the killing of Python.[23] The inclusion of Victoria in the act of offering makes it clear that some sort of military triumph is involved, and to Simon the relief is a thinly veiled allusion to the necessity for *lustratio* after a damaging civil war. The inclusion in the relief therefore of Artemis and Leto refers to the Palatine sanctuary which, dedicated in 28 B.C., was in part designed as a public statement of this catharsis. The archaistic associations of this shrine have been frequently cited. One might also include the Campana relief with the Delphic tripod conflict as another archaistic monument in which Apollo seeks to preserve the sanctity of his shrine. Among archaistic statues, one first thinks of the Hermes Kriophoros which also served a kind of purifying function and averted a plague, playing a role more commonly fulfilled by Apollo.

Dionysiac Figures and Rustic Cults

A slightly different, more personal kind of purification may be implicit in the archaistic images of Dionysos. Bacchic cults were tremendously popular in Roman times, not only because of their obvious corporeal attractions but also because through hope of a hereafter, they helped fill a spiritual void left open by state-sanctioned Imperial cults. The use of archaism for a relatively large number of Dionysiac figures may be somehow related to this connection between salvation and purification.[24]

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22 In this connection one could also mention the statues which seem to be portrait bodies. If these were set as votives in sanctuaries, the style would not only help to enhance their sacred demeanor, but would also give them an air of permanence and stability.

23 Supra p.10 n.52.

24 Note that another of the very popular Hellenistic and Roman cults which was similar in this respect was that of Isis. Images of this deity are of course Egyptianizing rather than archaizing, but the style is also formalized and many of the actual manifestations in pose and drapery patterns are superficially similar. Cf. Fullerton 1987, 265.

Another explanation, which has already been considered above (ch.6), is analogous to the "tectonic" archaism of herms and hekataia. Dionysos was in early times worshipped as an aniconic cult object,[25] as a herm, or as a mask affixed to a tree. It is but a short step from such an idol to an archaistic statue, and most such statues of Dionysos are characterized by an especially stiff and stationary pose. One could then suppose that the style was extended from Dionysos to maenads, Priapus, and Pan. This class of archaistic figures can be expanded if we take as our limits not simply Dionysiac cults, but all cults which are essentially rustic. Most obvious in this connection is the archaistic image of Diana Nemorensis, but it should also be noted that herms and especially hekataia were commonly placed in the countryside alongside roads and crossroads. In cases such as these, the archaistic style may have been meant to enhance the quality of simplicity which was a part of these cults' appeal, and it may also be related to features already considered, like permanence and stability. In the case of ostensibly ancient Latin cults such as that of Diana Nemorensis, the archaistic style may of course have been intended to give an old appearance to a new image.

The Ancient Image

This last possibility brings us finally to what is perhaps the most obvious motivation for the use of an archaistic style—the implication of antiquity itself. At least three separate areas can be identified in which such an implication may have been desired. First, there is the suggestion of false antiquity not simply for new statues, but for new cults as well. The Palatine Apollo sanctuary comes to mind again, but most characteristic is the Imperial cult of Spes. Obviously the use of this cult to advertise dynastic succession is an Imperial creation, but the image as it is known from coins is an intentional re-creation of the Archaic kore type. Not only does the image's ostensible antiquity help give to this cult a certain legitimacy, but the formal qualities of permanence and stability inherent in the archaistic style are also appropriate to a cult concerned with the peaceful transition between reigns. Also relevant in this connection is the archaistic image of Tyche. While this cult is not as late a development as that of Spes, it was distictly later than the Archaic imagery of the Munich type. A further connection between these two personifications is their essentially benificent nature, so for these some of the same motivations to archaize would apply as for the apotropaic images discussed above.

A second antiquarian concern reflected in archaistic art is the academic

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[25] Interestingly enough, so was Apollo.

interest in historicity reflected, for example, in the Citharoedus relief or the Aigisthos relief.[26] The latter was found at the Diana Nemorensis sanctuary and displays a very peculiar style reminiscent of late Archaic Etruscan art.[27] The choice of this style may be related to the Italic nature of the sanctuary, although this consideration did not prevent the use of highly Hellenized forms for the cult statue. In statuary, this use of archaism to give an air of pseudo-historical accuracy is limited to a few examples. The archaism of the Hekate Epipyrgidia has been seen as a reference to historical events incorporated in Athenian propaganda during or after the Peloponnesian War.[28] The most obvious examples, however, are the narrative figures like the Gardner Odysseus and the Vienna Amazon which represent scenes from the distant legendary past. Since such scenes are ubiquitous in Greek and Roman art, however, we still cannot completely explain the use of archaism in these few specific examples. It may be a reflection of the personal antiquarian tastes of the patron; such tastes were certainly not unusual in Roman times.[29] However, to some degree the phenomenon represented by the Odysseus or the Amazon remains enigmatic.

A third class of monument which involves the obvious implication of antiquity consists of those statues which are so close to Archaic prototypes that they may have been actual replicas. Mechanical copies of Archaic works are extremely uncommon, but a relief from the Agora testifies to their existence.[30] Of the statuary collected here, a small group of korai is closest to Archaic works. On the analogy of the Piombino Apollo, it has been suggested that these might have been created to pass for Archaic works, but this does not explain why a Roman would want an Archaic

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[26] Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek. Froning 1981, 81-100. Simon 1986, 122, fig.159. Simon suggests that the archaism in this relief is an historical reference to the antiquity of the subject depicted. Cf. Froning 96-100 for different interpretations of the subject.

[27] A style, to my knowledge, shared only with the very odd relief of twelve gods in Baltimore. On this see Willers 1975, 56-57 w/bibliography. Even here the resemblance is only general. The Baltimore relief is much lower relief and on the whole the figures are more like neo-Attic archaistic than are those on the relief in Copenhagen. The style of the Baltimore relief is compared to South Italian Greek rather than Etruscan work, but these were in many cases rather close. The authenticity of the Baltimore piece has been questioned, but most recent studies seem to accept it as genuinely antique.

[28] Cf. Fullerton 1986, 674-675. Here I suggest that the reference is to Athens remaining untainted by the Dorian invasion. Prof. Harrison, at the same session during which my article was presented as a paper, suggested that the reference was to a late Archaic hekataion removed by the Persians. We agree at least that the archaistic style can function as an historical reference.

[29] Yet again we are reminded of Augustus' use of "Archaic" architectural sculptures for his Apollo temple.

[30] Agora S 2079. Harrison 1965, 77-79, no.127.

work in the first place. The taste for such does not seem to have been strong. Archaistic korai, mostly fragmentary, have been documented at a number of Greek sites, and in this context they may have been intended as votives stylistically consistent with the older dedications in a given sanctuary.[31] This does not explain, however, the other korai in Italy which are not Spes representations nor the korai which appear to be copies. Virtually all of the latter are in Italian marble, and therefore were made and displayed in Italy. One clue is again the reference in Pliny to Archaic akroteria on the Palatine Apollo temple, if one also considers the Albani kore which appears to copy the akroteria at Aigina. It is unlikely, however, that all if any of the korai we have were architectural sculptures. Some were probably simply decorative figures placed in a domestic context as a sort of antiquarian curiosity. As for the narrative figures, some questions here too remain unanswered.

The appeal of formalism and Roman taste

Despite the many formal parallels, Becatti was correct in emphasizing the fundamental difference between archaistic relief and archaistic statuary. The former's decorative emphasis on elaborate delicate linear patterning seems not to be so dominant in the latter, where forms are generally more solid and staid. Beyond any decorative quality, these statues contained a deeper significance which derived ultimately from the basic psychological appeal of a formalized style. The variety of aspects and varying levels of interpretation which formalism contains and allows was appropriate and appealing to so heterogeneous a world as the Roman Empire. We have seen that archaism can lend to a figure a quality of simplicity and accessibility when used, for example, in a rustic cult figure. In other contexts, however, the style may have been intended to create an atmosphere of esoteric antiquarian academicism. In some cases archaism was certainly intended to imbue a statue with a quality of permanence and stability which would in some cases even root the figure to a particular earthly location. We see this especially in figures which are apotropaic or in some other way generally beneficent. Many of these very same figures, however, seem to derive from their archaistic features an antiquity and a transcendent spirituality, both of which enhance their religious effectiveness. In short,

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[31] Cf. the figures collected in chapter 8 (IB2,E1-3). There are some obvious problems here. Examples come from the Akropolis and Agora, but allegedly Archaic dedications in these areas were not visible after the end of the Persian wars. Perhaps some did survive. The use of votive korai may in any case have suggested the use of archaistic bodies for votive portraits.

this inherent conflict between the naturalistic and the abstract is what gives archaistic figures their peculiar quality.

Much of this, of course, could also be said of Archaic, or even Egyptian and Near Eastern art, but there is a critical difference. In these contexts the use of formalism is a universal convention. Archaistic art differs in that it employs formalism as a deliberate choice. This choice in at least some cases must have been dictated by a subject which was especially appropriate to one of archaism's aesthetic, intellectual, or spiritual effects. We cannot know whether any archaistic sculpture was intentionally designed to exploit the dynamics of the fundamental conflicts inherent in the style. But the Roman viewer was certainly as aware as we are of the incongruity of this style and of the deliberateness of its choice. While no Roman writer has seen fit to describe it for us, the aura of mystery created by the style's conflicting messages must have affected any perceptive reaction to the work.

That archaistic monuments were far more numerous in Roman times than previously has adequately been demonstrated, and we must finally consider possible reasons why this was the case. Certainly the Romans liked things old for oldness' sake; they were by nature conservative, respected tradition, and equated venerability with legitimacy.[32] Moreover, their enormous appetite for the most conspicuous manifestations of the obviously (to them) superior Greek culture explains why in art at least there was much more interest in imitating ancient Greek models than those, for example, of the Etruscans. However, while this may help explain the popularity in Roman times of the entire phenomenon of retrospection, it does not address the problem of archaism specifically.[33]

Another common explanation is simple nostalgia. Seen in this way, classicism and archaism reflect a desire to recreate, if only superficially, a lost "golden" age, when life was somehow more pleasant. This phenomenon is specifically relevant to the archaistic style only if one again considers the formalistic qualities of that style. It has often been commented, usually in contexts very different from this, that abstract styles are the

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[32] Cf. Zanker 1987, 240-263 for a discussion of the programmatic use of classicism and archaism in the Augustan era. Archaism, he argues, functioned to express at once the *auctoritas* of the image portrayed and the *pietas* of the princeps.

[33] That the ancients understood the distinctions, both stylistic and chronological, between Classical and Archaic art is clear from literary sources. The former was preferred by most ancient writers on art, who disagreed only on whether the fifth or the fourth century was the era of greatest artistic achievement. Archaic works were sometimes criticized for their crudity and at other times commended for their simplicity. As has been argued, both qualities contributed to the appeal of the archaistic style. On the ancient view of Classical vs. Archaic art: Pollitt 1974, 73-85, 154-158. Hurwit 1985, 15-18.

creation of an unhappy time.[34] This results from the simultaneous rejection of present reality (naturalism) and search for both stability and spiritual rather than physical fulfillment. However, this is a feature of essentially every civilization sufficiently developed and self-conscious to allow such speculation. It does not explain the special appeal to the Romans of archaistic statues.

A part of the explanation could be that the Italic cultures, including the Etruscans and Romans, may have preferred more formalized artistic expressions. After all, only the Greeks, among all ancient civilizations, seem to have been particularly interested in moving toward ever more naturalistic effects in their art. In Italy, where Greek developments were of course imitated, there was always a reluctance to absorb Greek forms completely and immediately, and more linear styles persist throughout Classical and Hellenistic times. This reluctance and retention is commonly dismissed as provincialism, but it is just as possible that it may be more accurately understood as a different aesthetic sense. This is of course not the place to elaborate on this highly theoretical question,[35] but certain facts are clear. The first significant increase in the iconographic and functional range of archaistic art occurs in the so-called neo-Attic products of the late Hellenistic era, and these sculptures seem to have been designed primarily for the Roman art market. This output continued to the end of the Roman Empire; during this same time, there was created virtually every archaistic statue that has come down to us. It would not seem farfetched to speculate that the reason for such an increase in the use of the archaistic style in Roman times might somehow be found in the minds of the Romans themselves.[36] No doubt the situation was more complex than we with our imperfect sources can reconstruct, but some of the motives suggested here, whether religious, political, or simply aesthetic, must have played a role.

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[34] Note for example, the comment by Paul Klee entered in his diary of 1915: "Je schreckensvoller diese Welt (wie gerade heute), desto abstrakter die Kunst, während eine glückliche Welte eine diesseitige Kunst hervorbringt." F. Klee, ed., *Tagebücher von Paul Klee 1898-1918* (Köln 1957) 323, entry 951 in diary IV.

[35] Again, Otto Brendel has most clearly expressed a positive rather than negative view of the aesthetic qualities of Etruscan Art. O. Brendel, *Etruscan Art* (Harmondsworth 1978) *passim* but especially pp.33-41. This suggestion has many facets and implications which would require much more study. For example, is there some connection with the obvious Oriental features of Etruscan civilization? Is it possible that one reason for the mysterious mannerist school in Early Classical red-figure is demand from the Western Greek market? These vases were especially popular in South Italy and Sicily. Cf. J. Beazley, *The Pan Painter* (Mainz 1974) 5 n.23.

[36] Already in 1935, Folman (p.75) made a general suggestion along similar lines, but it has not, to my knowledge, been taken up in more recent scholarship.

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Statue of Dionysos no. 5139 (6IIB1) – 138-139, 150, FIG.65.
Archaistic kore fragment no.5127 (8IE2) – 175, 182.
Archaistic perirrhanterion no.5140 & counterpart (w/o no.) – 8, 138-139, 173.
Archaistic perirrhanteria nos.5137 + 5135, 5134 + 5285 – 137 n.35.

Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi
Statue of Athena no. 13 (3IIC3) – 74, 65, FIG.27.

Florence, Museo Archeologico
Statue of Artemis no.10701 (2IIA3) – 22-29, 35, FIG.12.

Florence, Palazzo Guicciardini
Archaistic kore (5B1) 111-112 116, FIG.48.

Frascati, Palazzo Muncipale
Statue of Dionysos (6IIC4) 140-144, 152, 166, FIG.70.

Hamburg, Antikensammlung
Statue of Athena no. 1960.72 (3IIIB1) – 67, 76, FIG.29.

Haslemere, Whittall Collection
Neo-Attic round base with Dionysiac relief – 142.

Hildesheim, Pelizaeus Museum
Bronze statuette of Agathodaimon no.

2267 (4IC1) – 87-88, 94.

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum
Archaistic dancer from Pergamon no.431 – 9 n.46, 88.
Archaistic karyatid from Tralles – 24, 192 n.11.

Izmir, Archaeological Museum
Dionysiac statue no. 3585 (6IB7) – 131-132, 148, FIG.59.

Kassel, Museum
Bronze statuette of Artemis no.123 – 19, 33.

Kurashiki (Japan), Ninagawa Museum
Artemis statue no.169 (2IB5) – 18-19, 32.

Leningrad, Hermitage
Statue of Athena no. A168 (3IIIB2) – 67, 76, 175.
Kylix by Makron no.649 – 58.

Lidingo (Sweden), Carl Milles Collection
Archaistic kore (Spes?) (5A2) – 108, 114.
Archaistic relief no.41 – 142.

Liverpool, City Art Museum
Artemis statue (2IC2) – 19, 32.
Statue of Athena no. 518 (3IIB1) – 61-62, 73.
Head from statue of Tyche, Munich type no.Ince 82 (4IIA8) – 89-92, 96.

London, British Museum
Statue of Artemis (Diana of Trastevere) no.Sc1560 (2IIB1) – 29-30, 35, FIG.14.
Bronze statuette of Athena, Dresden type no.Br191 (3IB2) – 50-53, 70, FIG.20.
Statue of Tyche no.1702 (4IA2) – 86-89, 92, FIG.32.
Statue of Maenad no.Sc2082 (6IA3) – 129, 132, 146, FIG.57.
Statue of Maenad no.Sc2081 (6IA4) – 129, 132, 146.
Silver statuette of Agathodaimon no. Silver 6 (4IC2) – 87-88, 94, FIG.35.
Archaistic kore no.Sc154 (8IA1) – 171-172, 178, FIG.78.
Archaistic kore no.SC153 (8IA3) – 172, 175, 178, FIG.80.
Archaistic statuette no. Sc2076 – 129.
Bronze statuette ('Spes Castellani;' modern forgery) no. Br192 – 108 n.17.
Hermaic Pan from Civita Lavigna no.Sc1745 – 132 n.13.
Engraved gem with Achilles and Penthesileia no.634 – 176.

London, Warburg Institute
Statue of Hermes Kriophoros (7IIA1) – 165-168, FIG.76.

Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum
Elgin peplophoros no.70.AA.114 – 18 n.26, 21 n.34.

Mantua, Palazzo Ducale
Statue of Maenad no.20 (6IB2) – 129-130, 132, 147.

Madrid, Museo Arqueologico
Statue of maenad no. 16.793 (6IB3) – 173, 179.

Madrid, Museo del Prado
Archaistic statue no.63 (8IA7) – 173, 179, FIG.83.

Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria
Artemis statue no. 1045.4 (2IC3) – 19, 21, 32, 65.

Milan, Torno Collection
Statue of Athena (3IIIA2) – 65-67, 74.

Munich, Glyptothek
Statue of Athena no. 10087 (3IIIA1) 65-67, 74, FIG.28.
Statue of Tyche no.171 (4IIA1) – 66 n.98, 89-92, 95, 138 n.40, 139 n.44, 191 n.8, 193, 194 n.16, 196, FIG.36.
Archaistic kore no.173 (5B6) – 54, 112, 117, FIG.52.
Braschi Dionysos no.180 (6IIC1) – 140-144, 151, 196, FIG.67.
Athena from West Pediment, Temple of Aphaia at Aigina no.74 – 50-51, 63 n.85.
Votive landscape relief no.206 – 24 n.47, 163 n.4, 192 n.11.

Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico
Statue of Artemis no.6008 (2IIA1) 22-29, 34-35, 47, 67 n.99, 111 n.24, 193, 196-197, FIG.10.
Statue of Athena no.101 (6007) (3IA1) – 46-49, 50, 53 n.37, 55, 61, 65 n.94, 69, 111 n.24, 134, 136, 175, 191 n.7, 193, 196, 197, 199, FIG.16.
Bronze 'dancers' from Herculaneum inv.nos.5604, 5605, 5619-5621 – 28 n.66.
Statue of Apollo no.146103 – 28.
Red-Figure hydria by Kleophrades Painter no.2422 – 58, 191 n.5.
Red-Figure amphora no.3235 – 59 n.62.

Nîmes, Maison Carré
Archaistic kore (Spes?) (5A7) – 109-111, 116, FIG.46.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
Archaistic votive relief no.25.78.59 – 8, 138-139.
Engraved gem depicting Dionysos no.81.6.9 – 127 n.4.

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
Cup by Diomedes Painter no.1931.9 – 59 n.62.

Palermo, Museo Nazionale
Statue of Athena no.1535 (3IC1) – 53-55, 57, 63-64, 71, 196, FIG.21.
Archaistic kore no.1536 (5B4) – 112, 117, FIG.51.
Metope with Athena and Giant from Temple E, Selinus – 46.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
Bronze statuette of Artemis no. 736 (2IC5d) – 19, 20 n.31, 33, FIG.7.
Bronze statuette of Dionysos, Braschi type no.364 (6IIC3) – 140-144, 152, FIG.69.
Bronze statuette of Spes no.265 – 108 n.17.
Bronze statuette of Spes no.323 – 108 n.17.

Paris, Musée du Louvre
Statue of Athena no. 674 (3ID1) – 55-57, 59 n.68, 65 n.93, 71, FIG.23.
Statuette of Tyche no. 2571 (4IA1) – 86-89, 92, FIG.31.
Archaistic kore (Spes?) (5A8) – 109-111, 116.
Archaistic statuette MA2717 (8IA4) – 172, 175, 178, FIG.81.
Archaistic peplophoros no.MA673 (8ID2) – 174-175, 181, FIG.90.
Apollo statue ('Mazarin torso)' MA690 – 7, 163 n.1.
Apollo from Piombino no.61 – 114, 203.

Paris, Musée Rodin
Archaistic kore no. 55 (5B2) – 111-112, 116-117, FIG 49.

Paros, Archaeological Museum
Statue of Delian Artemis – 8, 24 n.47, 59 n.62, 192 n.11.

Patras, Archaeological Museum
Archaistic kore (8IB2) – 174, 180.

Peiraeus, Archaeological Museum
Neo-Attic reliefs – 194 n.16.

Poitiers, Musée Municipal
Statue of Athena (3IIA1) – 59-61, 64, 72, 109 n.20, 174, 193, FIG.24.

Port Sunlight, Lady Lever Art Gallery
Artemis statue no.19 (X2167) (2IC1) – 19, 32, FIG.5.

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum
Statue of Dionysos from Soroni (6IA1) – 128-129, 132, 145-146, FIG.56.
Statue of Dionysos in red marble (6IA2) – 129, 131-132, 146.

Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Art
Statue of Athena no.48-2-1 (3IIIA3) – 65-67, 75.

Rome, Antiquario Forense
Apollo statue no.3147 – 164 n.5.

Rome, Antiquario Palatino
Archaic Athena head – 59-60, 61 n.75.
Campana plaques from House of Augustus – 28 n.66.

Rome, Galleria Borghese
Archaistic kore (Spes?) No.66 (5A4) – 109, 115.
Statue of Apollo no.695 (7IA2) – 132 n.13, 143 n.66, 164-165, 167-168, 194, FIG.75.

Rome, Galleria Doria-Pamphili
Statue of Dionysos (6IIA5) – 136-137, 149-150, 191 n.7, FIG.63.

Rome, Museo Barracco
Artemis statue no.89 (2IB4) – 18-19, 31.
Statue of Athena no.78 (3IIC2) – 64-65, 74, FIG.26.
Statue of Athena no.87 (3IIIA5) – 65-67, 75.
Archaistic Hermes kriophoros no.84 – 166 n.15.

Rome, Musei Capitolini
Heads of Athena, Poitiers type (3IIA2,3) – 59-61, 73.
Archaistic relief signed by Kallimachos – 10, 30 n.73, 90, 138 n.40, 139 n.44, 193.

Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano
Statue (fragment) of Tyche, Munich type no.593 (4IIA5) – 89-92, 96, 194 n.16.
Archaistic kore no.30067 (5B3) – 112, 117, FIG.50.
Archaistic kore no.584 (8IA10) – 173, 180.
Archaistic statue no.61531 (8IC1) – 175, 180-181, FIG.87.
Archaistic statue no.167 (8IC2) – 175, 181, FIG.88.
Archaistic head from Lake Nemi area

no.112.161 – 16 n.17.
Wall Painting from Casa Farnesina inv.120 – 25.

Rome, Museo Torlonia
Statue of Artemis(?) no.481 (2ID3) – 19, 34, FIG.9.
Statue of Dionysos no.492 (6IIA2) – 133, 135-136, 149, FIG.60.

Rome, Palazzo Colonna
Relief with archaistic Dionysos – 142.

Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori
Archaistic kore (Spes?) no. 990 (5A3) – 108-109, 114-115.
Archaistic kore no.986 (5B8) – 112, 118, FIG.54.
Statue of Priapus, Braccio Nuovo no.1873 (6IB5) – 131, 132, 148.

Rome, Villa Albani
Statue of Athena no. 970 (3IIC1) – 63-64, 73, FIG.25.
Archaistic kore no.975 (5B5) – 111-112, 117, 204.
Statue of Dionysos no.144 (6IIA6) – 136-137, 149-150, FIG.64.
Statue of Dionysos no.983 (6IIB3) – 139-140, 150, 191 nn.7,10, FIG.66.
Archaistic peplophoros no.989 (8ID1) 174-175, 181, FIG.89.

San Antonio Museum of Art
Statue of Dionysos no. 86.164 (6IIC5) – 140-144, 152, 166, FIG.71.

Selçuk, Museum
Statue of Artemis no. 2165 (2IA1) – 17-18, 21-22, 30, FIG.2.

Sperlonga, Museo Archeologico
Palladion (3IIB2) – 30, 62, 73, 194.

Stockholm, Archeological Museum
Amphora by the Tyszkiewicz Painter no. 1963 – 58 n.57.

Syracuse, Museo Archeologico
Lekythos by Achilles Painter no.21186 – 14 n.6.

Thebes, Archaeological Museum
Archaistic statue of Artemis-Hekate – 9

Torino, Museo Archeologico
Statue of Dionysiac figure (6IB1) – 129-130, 132, 147.

Tripolis, Museum
Statue of Artemis (2IA2) – 17-18, 31, FIG.3.

Tunis, Musée Alaoui
Clay relief tondo from El Djem – 50 n.23, 53 n.37.

Vatican City, Musei Vaticani
Galleria dei Candelabri:
Artemis statue no.1 (2IB3) – 18-19, 31, FIG.4.
Statue of Athena (lower section) no.155A (3IC2) – 53-55, 71, FIG.22.
Statue of Tyche, Munich type no.93 (4IIA3) – 89-92, 95, FIG.38.
Archaistic kore (Spes?) no.135A (5A1) – 108, 114, FIG.44.
Archaistic kore no.124A (5B9) – 112 n.29, 118, FIG.55.
Statue of Apollo no.75 (7IA1) – 132 n.13, 143 n.66, 164-165, 167, 194, FIG.74.
Archaistic kore no.140A (8IA8) – 173, 179., FIG.84
Chiaramonti:
Neo-Attic relief of Charites no.360 – 20 n.30.
Belvedere:
Altar with reliefs no.87b – 26 n.61.
Museo Gregoriano Egizio:
Egyptianizing statue from Hadrian's Villa no.147 – 88 n.16.

Venice, Museo Archeologico
Statue of Artemis no.59 (2IIA2) – 22-29, 35, FIG.11.

Vienna, Kunsthistorische Museum
Bronze statuette of Artemis (2IC5b) – 19, 33.
Bronze statuette of Athena, Dresden type no.V1354 (3IB3) – 50-53, 70.
Statue of Priapus no.I219 (6IB6) – 131-132, 148, FIG.58.
Statue of Amazon no.I164 (8IIA1) – 175-177, 182, 197, 203.
Red-Figure cup by Painter of Vienna 202 no.204 – 14 n.6.

Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks
Bronze statuette of Artemis no.16 (2IC5a) – 19, 33.

York, City Art Gallery
Statue of Artemis(?) no.556-1948 (2ID2) – 19, 34.